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Geneva Talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina Crisis Resume

Karadzic Not Expecting Quick Agreement

AU2201203293 Paris AFP in English 2016 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, Jan 22 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said Friday [22 January] he did not expect a peace agreement that would end the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina "within a few days" but was hopeful that fighting would end soon.

"I don't expect that we finish within a fe days, this is work for many weeks," Karadzic said a day before talks to end the brutal war in Bosnia-Hercegovina were to resume in Geneva.

"What I expect is to stop immediate fire, stop the war and to continue doing maps," he said, referring the future boundaries of the proposed 10 provinces in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The co-chairmen of the peace conference, Cyrus Vance for the United Nations and Lord Owen for the European Community, will press for a final agreement on this stage of the negotiations, conference spokesman Fred Eckhard said Friday.

It would be a good sign if the talks continued well into next week, he added.

The Bosnian Serb parliament Wednesday [20 January] accepted the first stage of a U.N.-E.C.-sponsored blueprint for Bosnia-Hercegovina leaving a central government intact. Karadzic insisted that Serbs would seek self-determination although mediators have ruled this out.

The Geneva plan calls for an "open" multi-ethnic province centred on Sarajevo. In addition each group—Moslems, Serbs and Croats—would control three provinces where their people predominated.

Karadzic said that after talks on the future map of Bosnia-Hercegovina a referendum among Bosnian Serbs on the future boundaries of the provinces would be a "democratic solution."

"That is something that is going to be at the end of this arrangement," he said, adding, "the whole arrangement should be a matter for a referendum."

In Belgrade, Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic meanwhile said the future map of Bosnia-Hercegovina needed some "serious revision."

Apart from Bosnia's Croats and Moslems, Cosic and presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Momir Bulatovic of Montenegro were expected in Geneva Saturday.

Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic will attend the talks Sunday, the Yugoslav mission here said.

Karadzic Warns Against 'Ultimatums'

LD2201220293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2109 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, January 22 (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, the president of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said in Geneva on Friday [22 January] that the redrawing of boundaries among provinces in Bosnia-Hercegovina would be a difficult task, if ready-made solutions were imposed on the three sides without their consent.

If the republican borders in former Yugoslavia, which had precipitated the war, were not drawn democratically, then the boundaries between the provinces in Bosnia-Hercegovina must be democratic to avert all wars there, Karadzic told TANJUG on Friday in Geneva, where he arrived for the resumed talks on Saturday.

Prior to his departure for Geneva, Karadzic told the news agency of Bosnian Serbs, SRNA, that the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina had no chance of survival if the international community continued to issue ultimatums, particularly as regards boundaries and peace accords.

If someone thinks the time of ultimatums has come, we will not agree to them. No one can accept something which is unacceptable to the Serbian people, and the international community can do it only by force, that is with its weapons, Karadzic said.

According to SRNA, Karadzic described the new concept of the so-called interim government and presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which would include himself and the leaders of Bosnian Moslems and Croats (Alija Izetbegovic and Mate Boban), was not realistic for the time being. He said it would be more realistic to insist on a coordination committee whose primary task would be to work on ending the conflict and alleviating its aftermath.

Asked by TANJUG's Geneva correspondent to comment on fighting between Moslems and Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Karadzic said it was a conflict between different interests, and publication of boundaries before they had been accepted contributed to this.

Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the parliament of the Serbian Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that the delegation of Bosnian Serbs would not negotiate under threats, which could be discerned in the press and in statements by the conference co-chairmen and their spokesmen.

Krajisnik, who will also take part in the Geneva negotiations, said the Serbian delegation would not accept talks under the take-it-or-leave-it principle. In any case, regardless of the intentions and ensuing consequences, the Serbian Parliament would again be consulted because it proved to be the only organized political state

instance on the territory of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina, Krajisnik told SRNA prior to his departure for Geneva.

Talks Focus on Croatia Conflict

AU2301185393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Report by Milorad Denda from Geneva]

[Text] Just as we suspected, today's resumption of the summit on Bosnia-Hercegovina was marked and burdened by yesterday's incursion by Croatian forces into the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the territories under UN Protection Force control. It is true that Cyrus Vance, cochairman of the conference, opened the meeting with the intent of discussing maps and the peace agreement on Bosnia-Hercegovina. Mate Boban accepted this and Izetbegovic reiterated remarks about the offered map and made accusations of aggression against Bosnia-Hercegovina, mentioning Mostar and regions around the Drina River.

Radovan Karadzic said that defining maps is a crucial issue and the basic prerequisite for stopping the war, but his speech focused on the Croatian attack against the Republic of Serbian Krajina. He deemed this a brutal aggression and a wish to create a Greater Croatia, mentioning the Croatian offensives in the Neretva Valley and central Bosnia. He spoke about Serbs being mistreated in Croatian villages and towns and deliveries of arms from Europe and Islamic countries via the ports of Ploce, Split, and Rijeka. Karadzic demanded the conference cochairmen to state their views on the Croatian aggression and to say whether the conference can be continued under such conditions.

Dobrica Cosic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, spoke next and said that today [word indistinct] one continues working on peace at the moment when a new war is being waged. It started yesterday with the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina, a territory under UN protection. I cannot but express surprise, Cosic said, that this fact is not the [word indistinct] of the talks we have begun. Judging from the military preparations that we know about, this aggression threatens to turn into an all-out war against the Serbian people in Croatia. This aggression annuls the decisions of the Security Council and London conference. Therefore, virtually all our efforts toward ending the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina and achieving a lasting and just peace are being crushed.

Cosic then asked two principled questions. First, what is the practical and real sense of our starting talks about war with Croatia, which has been starting a new war? Second, what is the position of the representatives of the Security Council and the EC—referring to Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen—toward us when Croatian aggression has crushed the basic decisions of the Security Council and all its peacemaking efforts? Because the Croatian aggression against the territories under UN protection means the annulment of Vance's plan. Cosic also said that signatories of the plan are sitting at this table. He, therefore, proposed that before further talks on ending the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina are continued, this conference should send a request to the Security Council to take energetic measures with a view to ending Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina and forcing Croatia to accept peace. Cosic says that this may seem to be a superfluous proposal within the (?mass) of concrete talks and debates, but he thinks that we cannot continue the talks if we fail to state our positions about this because all participants of this drama are sitting here. Therefore, he asked the cochairmen to state their positions on the proposal.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman then spoke, and his speech confirmed that what is involved is a planned and timed act that was obviously agreed upon somewhere. He termed reports and condemnations of the Croatian invasion unfounded and monstrously funny assertions. He said that Croatia did not carry out an attack against the Republic of Serbian Krajina, because, Tudjman said, such a republic does not exist. He accused Karadzic and Cosic of not giving up plans to create a Greater Serbia and to include, as he put it, Croatian territory.

After such statements were made by Tudjman, observers here assess that there is an obvious intention to thwart the Geneva talks that were turning toward peace.

Explaining the events yesterday, Tudjman recalled that Croatia demanded that the peace forces start to implement Vance's plan by force and make possible the construction of a pontoon bridge at Maslenica. As nothing has been done, Croatia could no longer stand the postponements, so militia forces, as he said, took measures. He admitted that the Croatian Army also participated after resistance was offered. Finally, he threatened that Croatia will not be lenient toward, as he put it, a group of Serbian extremists in the hands of Belgrade's imperial policy.

Immediately after this, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic spoke and said that what Mr. Tudjman said is absolutely unacceptable. Who is authorized to enter territories under UN protection? Who can explain the Croat troops' attack against a 100-km-long front and a territory under UN protection, Milosevic asked. I want to say that if masters of war want to make a big fire now when peace is literally at arm's length—as was done in Bosnia as well—then the international community must be aware of its responsibility. I think, Milosevic said, that it is necessary to take quick and energetic international action with a view to stopping the aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which is an aggression against peace and the aims of this conference. I believe, Milosevic said, that the international community has never had a better opportunity to accept a firm policy toward all participants in the Yugoslav crisis, instead of having double standards. This is the only way to guarantee peace, President Milosevic said at today's plenary session in the Geneva Palace of the Nations.

After interventions by Cosic and Milosevic, David Owen said that he thinks that these demands are understandable and recalled the statement issued by the Security Council last night. He called on all sides not to undertake anything that may endanger the peace process, as one must not permit the war to spread and tension to increase. Then he urged the participants to return to the debate on Bosnia-Hercegovina, as the offered papers are the best chance to achieve peace.

Therefore, a debate was opened on the status of Sarajevo, which should be an open city for all three peoples. The meeting is under way at the moment and will be devoted to maps. In the meantime, in the afternoon and tomorrow morning, co-chairmen Vance and Owen are expected to hold a series of bilateral meetings with heads of delegations.

Milosevic, Tudjman Agree To Halt Fighting

AU2301193293 Paris AFP in English 1918 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, Jan 23 (AFP)—The presidents of Serbia and Croatia pledged Saturday to do all they could to end heavy fighting that erupted Friday [22 January] in Croatia after a year-long cease-fire, a spokesman said.

Leaders of the warring factions, meeting on the sidelines of peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina, had "detailed discussions" on the two days of attacks by the Croatian army on U.N.-protected Serbian areas in southern Croatia, according to Geneva peace conference spokesman Fred Eckhard.

Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia "agreed to contain the conflict and do everything they could to stop the fighting... bringing about maximum pressure on the local commanders to do that," Eckhard said.

Milosevic and Tudjman also agreed on "containing the matter so that it doesn't go beyond the area where it is now and it does not undermine the peace process."

The attacks, the heaviest fighting since a cease-fire took hold in Croatia a year ago, triggered anger among Serbian leaders here who asked the U.N. Security Council to intervene.

But asked if the attacks would compromise the Bosnian peace talks, Eckhard told reporters, "I think you might have worried about that earlier today. But it is less of a worry at the end of the day."

Tudjman left for Zagreb Saturday evening and Eckhard said Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic, of Montenegro, had to return home for sessions of their parliaments on Sunday.

Tudjman Denies Charges of Aggression

LD2301201493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Andjelko Perincic on news conference by President Franjo Tudjman in Geneva on 23 January; Tudjman remarks recorded]

[Text] [Tudjman] As you have heard, the Serbs have accused Croatia of aggression. So, we reminded them who the aggressor is and that, contrary to promises that they would take steps to normalize relations, they have dragged out the talks in every way. It therefore not only is unfounded but monstrous to accuse Croatia of aggression, when, after all the delays, the Croatian police forces, with the help of (?the army)—when the Serbs put up resistance—are securing the construction of the Maslenica pontoon (?bridge).

[Perincic] The next question was whether Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen were acquainted with the action by Croatia to reestablish the connection across Maslenicko Zdrilo [gorge].

[Tudjman] No, they already were informed about the whole development of the...[laughs] problem and with our demands since December, from our letter to the UN Security Council and secretary general and previous talks in Geneva, from 2 to 4 and on 12 [January], and with the agreement from Belgrade that this question should be resolved.

[Perincic] Finally, journalists wanted to know how the talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina were progressing.

[Tudjman] As regards the talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina, they agreed on the constitutional principles and there was a discussion of the maps. There still are quite a lot of unresolved and differing approaches. At any rate, I again told Mr. Izetbegovic and Mr. Boban, (?in the presence of) the co-chairmen, what I told them in separate talks; namely, that if they want cooperation between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia, the representatives of the Muslim and Croatian people must agree on all disputed issues and put forward a joint demand for cooperation with Croatia, and that they cannot [words indistinct] that one day they can accuse Croatia and the same day or the next day expect us to continue.

Sides Disagree on Proposed Maps

AU2301225493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Report by Milorad Denda]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The afternoon part of the talks between the delegations of Bosnian Serbs, Muslims, and Croats on the proposed map and division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into 10 provinces did not bring the opposing views any closer. The principles of defining the provinces and determining their borders are still contentious.

According to Alija Izetbegovic, the map cannot be acceptable until a clear definition is made on what constitutes provinces. With this view, Izetbegovic is in fact disputing the essence of the already accepted constitutional principles and, consequently, bringing the talks back to the beginning.

Responding to this, Mate Boban observed that the cochairmen may not have given Izetbegovic all the documents. Boban also asked not to be invited to these talks because he has accepted the map.

Radovan Karadzic considered the fact that parts of some provinces and their borders were determined as indisputable as a success. He also presented the major objections of the Serbian side concerning specific provinces, such as Cazin Krajina, Posavina, the area around Bijeljina, and east Hercegovina. The negotiations on maps will continue tomorrow.

Karadzic: Map Talks Show 'Great Progress'

AU2301211693 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Zoran Jevdjovic in Geneva on 23 January—recorded]

[Text] [Jevdjovic] Despite being burdened by the latest events—that is, Croatia's attack on Krajina and the Muslim offensive—the afternoon portion of the Geneva conference, which started with a discussion on maps in the presence of the representatives of all three Bosnia-Hercegovina sides, nevertheless resulted in some progress. This is confirmed by Radovan Karadzic's statement:

[Karadzic] I can say that today, especially this afternoon, we mainly worked on the maps, all three delegations plus the chairman of the commission for Bosnia-Hercegovina, Ahtisaari. I think that this represents great progress. We embarked on maps and are working on them. Parts of the border already have been established for good. This is the western part of Livanjsko Polje, where nine Serbian villages, pure Serbian villages, belonged to Livno commune. They will now belong to province number two—probably the commune of Bosanska Grahovo or Grahovo. So, we started; we have not done very much, but it essentially is good that we dealt with disputed places. It is assumed that other places are not disputable.

[Jevdjovic] What about this afternoon's discussion on the attack by the Croatian forces on Krajina?

[Karadzic] This was a critical moment of the conference. I think that both we and the Yugoslav delegation could easily have left, telling the cochairmen that when they ensure that the United Nations, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR], and the zone under UNPROFOR protection are respected, then we would return to the conference. This is a major attack on the United Nations, above all. How are the zones protected by the UN forces if the Croatian Army can come to those zones with full force? I think that the United Nations is losing respect and trust, and I wonder whether any country in the world will now allow the United Nations to protect their population. This is not protection at all.

[Jevdjovic] But the negotiations are continuing despite everything, and some progress has been made.

[Karadzic] Yes, the negotiations are continuing. I think that the talks about the maps represent great progress. The fact is that some 20 km of the border already have been accepted by all three sides. There are no more objections to it. This means that, as Lord Owen said today, we now must go kilometer by kilometer to determine the border.

[Jevdjovic] After that, members of our delegation and cochairmen Vance and Owen met in the Yugoslav quarters. Croatian President Tudjman joined them later. The talks with Tudjman lasted about 20 minutes and were devoted to the Croatian attacks on the territories under UNPROFOR protection. They discussed possible consequences of such an act and issued warnings on this. After that, Presidents Cosic, Milosevic, and Bulatovic continued their talk with cochairmen Vance and Owen. Journalists were informed about the content of the afternoon talks, and according to what the Yugoslav delegation agreed, were briefed by Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic.

Presidents Assess Talks

AU2301215593 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 23 Jan 93

[Statements by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic; FRY President Dobrica Cosic; Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina; and Alija Izetbegovic, president of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in Geneva on 23 January—recorded]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Milosevic, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] Ladies and gentlemen, I would first of all like to express my satisfaction with the fact that the conference has accepted the constitutional principles enjoyed by all three peoples. This means that the final solution requires a consensus, a solution that will lead to peace. This certainly represents a step forward in the work of this conference. It is, however, tragic that while the conference was achieving significant success, there was a criminal attack by Croatian troops on the territory that is under UN protection. This also implies an attack on the territory of Serbia. Therefore, the question can be raised as to who has the right, and on the basis of what is he assuming, the right to attack territories that are under UN protection.

I want to say that the masters of war and peace now clearly see who is violating peace and it is now up to them to realize who is undermining and violating the

Vance plan. I hope that the world will categorically intervene and stop these aggressive acts.

[Cosic, in Serbo-Croatian, with Cosic's adviser Svetozar Stojanovic providing a passage-by-passage translation in English] Ladies and gentlemen, today we finished a very important job that will serve as a basis for further progress in the peace talks. Today we agreed on the main constitutional principles concerning the organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina and started talks in principle on provinces, the delineation of provinces. The delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia holds the view that these talks should be guided by the principle of removing all those basic motives that led to the civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Peace can only be achieved by removing the basic motives of the civil war. After all, the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina was waged for territories. Every rational policy, every peace-loving policy must bear in mind this [word indistinct]. I think that there are two extremely difficult things for our talks. One is Croatia's aggression on the Serbian Republic of Krajina, that is, the territories under UN Protection Force protection. This war must be immediately stopped, for if this war is not stopped, one would not be able to talk about peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The second thing burdening our peace talks is the Muslim offensive in east Bosnia, and aggressive intentions toward the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Karadzic, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] I hope that we will achieve a consensus on the constitutional principles. On the other hand, we are deeply concerned about the major offensive undertaken by the Muslim forces. We think that these actions were taken to sabotage this conference, because we endorsed the constitutional principles. I hope that this conference will survive and continue to work. However, all offensive actions should immediately be stopped.

[Izetbegovic, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] The conference is continuing. Sarajevo and Mostar are again being shelled. This is aggression on the part of Serbia along the border. [end recording]

Karadzic Not To Abandon Talks

LD2401123393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1156 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian republic, will not abandon the Geneva negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina despite the fact that Muslims and Croats are trying to obstruct them. Karadzic confirmed this at a news conference in Geneva's Palace of Nations today. "I believe that both Croatian and Muslim offensives were planned to forestall the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina. Although in such circumstances we should abandon the conference, we will not do that because the conference is a great opportunity to restore peace, i.e. to find a political solution to the Bosnian conflict," Karadzic said.

Commenting on the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Karadzic said that the Croatian leadership had become impatient because the international community insists on a political solution and has realized that the Serbian nation must be granted the right to self-determination.

"I will remain at the conference as long as is necessary. General Mladic will return home from Geneva today because fierce fighting is going on there," the president of the Serbian republic said.

Referring to the maps, he said that the division is a historic question and that literally each square kilometer is discussed separately at the talks.

Cosic Criticizes 'Mild' UN Reprimand

AU2401135593 Paris AFP in English 1234 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, Jan 24 (AFP)—Yugoslav Federal President Dobrica Cosic said Sunday [24 January] that fighting in Croatia could torpedo peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina unless it is strongly condemned by the United Nations.

Conference spokesman Fred Eckhard, meanwhile, acknowledged plans to have more detailed talks on a provincial map for Bosnia had been put on hold while mediators continued discussions on the fighting and other political issues.

Cosic criticised the U.N. Security Council for what he called its "mild and inefficient" reprimand of Croat forces that broke a year-old cease-fire Friday [22 January] and attacked a Serbian area under U.N. protection in southwest Croatia.

"I believe that this very seriously undermines and compromises the overall peace effort here," he told reporters after a last meeting with mediators Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen before returning home.

"There can be no peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina unless there is peace in the territories protected by the United Nations (in Croatia)."

The president of the rump Yugoslav federation said that "to save the peace effort" he would demand that the U.N. Security Council meet again and act to stop the fighting in Croatia and restore the previous status quo.

He said the Croats were using warplanes and ships in their offensive. A spokesman for the Serbian area of Krajina said the Croats had sent in some 20,000 men into the U.N.-protected zone.

Cosic said that another major obstacle to peace was an intensifying Moslem offensive in eastern Bosnia. He said some Moslem units had even crossed into Yugoslavia but gave no details.

Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Bosnian Serbs, took a softer approach to the fighting in Croatia, pledging to

remain at the Geneva peace talks for as long as it took to end the 10-month-old Bosnian civil war.

"We are not going to quit the conference even if we should," he said before meeting with Vance and Owen.

Eckhard admitted that the fighting in Croatia was having an impact on the mediators' efforts here.

"It's a destabilising development but they will be working on it throughout the day I'm sure and beyond in the hope that it just doesn't get any worse," Eckhard said.

He said plans to continue detailed talks on the provincial map for Bosnia had been suspended while the warring parties discussed "larger political issues" including the Croatian fighting.

Vance, Owen 'Reticent' Over Attacks

LD2401141693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1342 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, Jan 24 (TANJUG)—The current Croatian aggression on U.N.-protected Serb territories continues to have a profound bearing of the bilateral negotiations on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Geneva.

The constant insistence of co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and David Owen on the issue of the territorial division of Bosnia-Hercegovina has thus far failed to sidetrack the aggression.

Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic have demanded that Vance and Owen define precisely their position on the Croatian aggression, which began on Friday [22 January], but the co-chairmen continue to be reticent in regard to the issue.

Although Owen said Cosic's demand was understandable, neither he nor Vance have so far said anything else about it.

Moreover, they have made no comment about Saturday evening's statement by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, who said that the co-chairmen had nothing against the Croatian action. It could be concluded from Tudjman's statement that Vance and Owen had even been informed in advance about the attack on the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), which is under U.N. protection.

The co-chairmen have never commented on Croatia's aggression, but keep talking about a "Serb-Croat conflict and the threat it poses".

The U.N. peacekeeping forces in Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) have said in an official statement that they were not informed in advance about what was a unilateral action by Croatian forces.

It is also stressed that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and his Defence Minister Susak have not fulfilled a promise to stop the attack.

Vance and Owen are almost completely ignoring all warnings by Cosic that the most important thing at the moment is to stop Croatia's aggression on the RSK and only then to continue talks on the division of Bosnia.

On account of this Yugoslavia is compelled to seek protection from the U.N. Security Council, although it would be logical that Vance and Owen had already done this.

The Serbs in the RSK accepted Vance's plan and turned over their weapons with a verbal promise that the U.N. peacekeeping forces would protect them in the event of a Croatian aggression.

Cosic, Karadzic View Talks

AU2401171793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Report by Milorad Denda from Geneva]

[Text] Although the peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina continued in the Palace of Nations in Geneva this morning, it is certain that events in the Republic of Serbian Krajina were at the focus of interest of both diplomats and journalists. Today's meeting between Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and cochairmen Cyrus Vance and David Owen also was devoted to this topic. After the meeting, President Cosic stated the following:

[Begin Cosic recording] Ladies and gentlemen, I came to Geneva deeply convinced that we were on a good path to end the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina because, as you know very well, the Serbian Assembly has adopted the basic principles of the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In the meantime, two major and aggressive events happened on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. Croatia has attacked the Republic of Serbian Krajina—that is, the territory under UN protection—and the Muslim offensive on east Bosnia was stepped up. This offensive is directly endangering the vital facilities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: two hydro-power plants. According to this morning's reports, a Muslim unit has entered the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

As I told you yesterday, these two events have seriously endangered our peace talks here in Geneva. To my surprise, the Security Council responded to Croatian aggression with a very mild and ineffective warning. I seriously cannot understand how such a serious political forum can play down this act by Croatia, or that this was not only an attack on the coastal region of the Serbian Krajina, but was in fact an attack on Geneva and an attack on the Security Council itself, on the UN troops.

You probably have been informed that on behalf of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, I reacted to this aggressive act by Croatia at this conference yesterday, and I asked the conference to send an energetic demand to Croatia to stop armed operations.

This is the only way for the peace talks to continue and for our peace efforts on Bosnia-Hercegovina to assume a normal course toward a positive outcome. Unfortunately, this has not happened up to now. I have been informed that fierce fighting took place last night and this morning, that even the air force and naval artillery took part in the fighting, and that this is a real small war, a war that is seriously compromising all our peace efforts. There will be no peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina if there is no peace on the territory under UN protection, or the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

To save our peace efforts, we will ask the Security Council to convene a new session and demand energetic condemnation of the Croatian aggression, cessation of all hostilities, and return to the previous situation. This would be realistic and a quite effective support to the Geneva talks. [end recording]

Answering journalists' questions, Dobrica Cosic said that Yugoslavia will respect the Vance plan and that it will demand that solutions be found for the endangered Serbs in Croatia within the Vance plan, that is, political solutions, which President Cosic sees in the respect of peoples' right to self-determination.

I personally and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will strive for the use of peaceful and political means in the struggle of the Serbian people in those regions, Cosic said. Asked to comment whether the delegation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will withdraw from the talks in Geneva, and whether the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will send its troops to Krajina if the Security Council does not do anything about the Croatian aggression, Dobrica Cosic said that he believed that the Security Council will realize the seriousness of the situation and extent to which all its peace decisions are endangered. One should expect that prudent moves will be made in the interest of peace, Cosic said.

Yugoslavia hopes and believes that the UN Security Council will fulfill its obligations; after that, we will fulfill ours, Cosic said. We will always act rationally, peacefully, and always in the interests of our people, Cosic said.

Commenting on the fact that Serbs took arms from the warehouses under UN protection, Cosic said that it was an act of defense and not aggression. Speaking about talks with Tudjman, Vance, and Owen, he said that they discussed Croatia's aggressive policy toward the Serbian Krajina. We talked about the need to establish peace and find agreements as soon as possible. However, I did not leave that meeting as an optimist, Cosic stressed. At the end of the meeting with journalists in the Palace of Nations in Geneva, prior to his return to Yugoslavia, Dobrica Cosic stressed the great and positive role that the cochairmen Vance and Owen played at this meeting, expressing a belief that they will continue to fight for peace and the end of the Croatian aggression in the coastal part of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Meanwhile, cochairmen Vance and Owen held a series of talks with the leaders of the three peoples from Bosnia-Hercegovina: Mate Boban, Alija Izetbegovic, and Radovan Karadzic. They discussed maps, or the territorial division of Bosnia-Hercegovina. There is no doubt that these talks—which will continue in the afternoon, and perhaps in the days ahead—will be difficult. Positions are being further clarified because Alija Izetbegovic wanted the powers of provinces and communes to be defined, something that is already contained in the constitutional principles that were adopted yesterday.

Radovan Karadzic holds the view that some progress has been made in the talks because disputable and indisputable territories have been determined. In response to a question by my colleague, Momcilo Blagojevic, on how he saw the current negotiations, Karadzic stated the following for Belgrade Radio:

[Begin recording] [Karadzic] The talks are where they were. We made significant progress in the work on maps yesterday, although we and the Yugoslav delegation had enough reasons to leave the conference. We stayed because we assume that the offensives [in Croatia and Bosnia] were, in fact, carried out to destroy the conference. We are winning politically. Our concept is being accepted and it is obvious that the end of the war suits neither the Croats or Muslims.

[Blagojevic] Have you noticed that the public has gradually been turning against the actions by the Croatian and Muslim sides?

[Karadzic] I am convinced that the truth will soon see the light of the day. The signs of fairer attitudes toward the sides in the conflict are being felt clearly. It is clear that the exhausted public in the West would like to hear some truth. Our time will come.

[Blagojevic] One last question. There is a lot of talk about Mr. Izetbegovic's opposition to the maps and the concept of provinces as envisaged by the two cochairmen.

[Karadzic] It is clear that he still believes in a unitarian Bosnia-Hercegovina in which he, or his ethnic community, would dominate others. [end recording]

Deputy Minister Signs Trade Protocol With Russia

AU2401173893 Tirana ATA in English 1107 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 24 (ATA)—A Russian delegation headed by the deputy minister of economy of the Russian Federation, Jurij Volhovikov [name as received], visited our country on January 21-23.

At the end of the negotiations yesterday, the protocol of the first session of the Albanian-Russian Joint Commission on Economic, Trade, and Technical Cooperation was signed at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation.

This protocol envisages that within a short period of time the agreement on air transportation and that of international road transportation be signed between the Government of the Republic of Albania and that of the Russian Federation. In the first six months of this year the two governments will also sign an agreement on investments and the elimination of taxes. A new agreement on trade, economic and technical cooperation will also be prepared during this period, taking into account the new economic-political conditions of our two countries.

In this protocol, the two parties have agreed to set up companies of Albanian-Russian traders as well as a joint chamber of commerce. On the basis of this protocol, they have agreed to see to the possibility of building a Macedonia-Albania or Greece-Albania gas pipe to supply natural gas from the Russian Federation, of setting up joint ventures to enrich copper ore, etc.

For the Albanian party the protocol was signed by the deputy minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation, Naske Afezolli and for the Russian party, by the deputy minister of economy, Jurij Volhovikov.

Attending the signing ceremony were the members of both delegations and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Russian Federation to the Republic of Albania, Viktor Nerubajllo.

During its stay in Albania, the Russian delegation was received in separate meetings by the minister of foreign trade and economic cooperation, Artan Hoxha, the minister of industry, mineral and energy resources, Abdyl Xhaja, the minister of transports, Fatos Bitincka, the deputy minister of agriculture and nutrition, Afrim Tabaku.

Agricultural Enterprises Sign Foreign Contracts

AU2401183293 Tirana ATA in English 1119 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 24 (ATA)—Several agricultural enterprises of Lushnja District have reached contracts with the "Ninivagi" Italian firm for the production of a series of agricultural products. The contract envisages the exploitation of over 7,000 hectares of land and the increase of productivity in grain, tobacco, etc. The Italian party will invest with advanced technique and technology. Tractors, machineries for the sowing and fertalization of the plants, etc. have already been brought .

Meanwhile they have also established cooperation with a Greek firm centered in Salonica, which will also deal with the processing of the agricultural products. The Greek firm has reached a contract with the fodder production enterprise for the improvement of the technology and the increase of production.

Police Say Steps Taken To Prevent Port 'Exodus'

AU2201164593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Our correspondent Tom Fercaj reports that after two days of interruption, work resumed normally at Shengjin Port today. With the careful measures taken by the Public Order Ministry, the people who were gathered for the organization of an illegal exodus were being dispersed. A Turkish ship, which two days ago was occupied by hundreds of people, is anchored at the quayside and the work loading it With firewood is continuing normally. Four work details have been organized into two shifts to accelerate the workrate so that the ship can be ready to sail as soon as possible.

District Police Chief Zef Prendi told us that with the measures taken have prevented any attempt at a mass exodus and complete order and calm is being guaranteed to the city.

Starova, Egyptian Counterpart Discuss Relations

AU2301194793 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 23 (ATA)—The deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Albania, Mr. Arian Starova, ended his official visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt. During his stay in Cairo the Albanian deputy minister and the delegation he led met with the deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Arab Republic of Egypt, Mr. Ismail Mubarak.

The two delegations talked about the bilateral relations, the possibilities of cooperation, and concrete draft-agreements which will further strengthen this cooperation.

The further development of the relations between the two countries, Mr. Starova said, stems from an open and unprejudiced policy of Albania and at the same time expresses the good will of both parties. Albania offers this cooperation and its natural and spiritual potential. The Albanian deputy minister pointed to the serious engagement of the government and parliament, the preparation of a contemporary legislation, which facilitates foreign investments. In the field of economy, tourism,

infrastructure, agriculture, and culture all the possibilities exist to further strengthen bilateral cooperation.

Underlining the common views about the bilateral relations, Mr. Ismail Mubarak expressed his commitment for concrete aid and agreements in the field of economy through the creation of joint ventures, the stimulation of the Egyptian investors in Albania, and the granting of long-term credits.

Albania is in favour of a peaceful solution of the regional crisis and not only of our region, Mr. Starova said. The political solutions to the crisis, such as in former Yugoslavia, demand a greater and serious engagement on the part of the international community and its organisations.

We support your view on problems of the regional crises and we are against extremisms and instrumentalisms of various beliefs, the Egyptian deputy minister said.

They also talked on the materialisation of the relations in the political, economic, and cultural fields.

Mr. Starova also met with the secretary general of the Association of the Egyptian Businessmen, Mr. Taher El Sherif [name as received]. In this meeting, Mr. Starova pointed to the legislation favourable for the foreign investors and the vast possibilities of mutual interest in the field of economy. Mr. Taher Sherif ensured and expressed the commitment of the association he leads to carry out investments in Albania.

Berisha, Rugova Believe 'Great Danger' Threatens Kosovars

AU2401154893 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] On his way back to Pristina after a series of visits in Europe and the United States, Kosovar President Ibrahim Rugova stopped in Tirana for a short working visit. He had talks with President Sali Berisha.

In these talks, they extensively discussed the crisis in the region and the grave situation rising from the complete Serbian occupation of Albanians in Kosovo. Both sides agreed that the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina is a stage in the scenario of creating a Greater Serbia through violence and terror, concentration camps, ethnic cleansing, and the extermination of non-Serbian peoples. Both sides think that a great danger threatens Albanians in the former Yugoslavia because if the international community does not stop the aggression in Bosnia, then the Belgrade leadership will transfer the conflict to the south.

Both leaders expressed their determination to contribute to preventing the conflict. They call on Albanians not to fall prey to the traps and provocations by those who want to incite conflict. They should rigorously apply peaceful and democratic means and methods to fulfill their national and human rights. Berisha and Rugova also highly appreciate the serious warnings that the United States and EC countries have made to Milosevic not to spread conflict in the south.

They also demand a solution from the Geneva conference and UN Security Council that is fair and acceptable to the Kosovo problem. Respect for the Helsinki Act and UN Charter makes a fair solution and the definition of Kosovo's final political status completely possible. Both sides are insisting that the solution of the question of Albanians in the former Yugoslavia cannot be achieved with romanticism and terrorism, but only through a realistic and stable policy that coordinates the actions of Albanian political forces with those of the international community.

Environmental Protection, Resort Bills Approved

AU2201153993 Tirana ATA in English 1124 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 22 (ATA)—On January 21, the People's Assembly continued proceedings with the examination and approval of the draft law on environmental protection. The deputies voted and approved the draft law in general.

The Chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Pjeter Arbnori said that according to the agenda the parliament will examine the draft law on the development of the resorts. Different deputies put a series of questions regarding the strategy of the development of tourism in Albania and its integration into that of the Mediterranean, the rules and procedures to be applied in giving licenses, etc., which were answered by the specialists of the Ministry of Tourism.

Then the deputies voted the 15th articles of this draft law. The law says that every physical or juridical person, native or foreign, is authorized to carry out a stimulated activity. This law guarantees the foreign person protection, security, and his full ownership in Albania, as well as equality with the stimulated local person as regards the duties and obligations, except cases envisaged by law, etc.

The People's Assembly devoted the afternoon sittings to the discussion on problems of radio television. At first the deputies of the Socialist Party, Social Democratic Party, and Democratic Party addressed a series of questions to the general director of the Albanian Radio Television, Skender Bucpapaj. He responded the questions and explained the technical-financial state left behind in the Albanian Radio-Television and the measures adopted by the TV Department to overcome it, the administrative reform and the restructuring of the institution, the professionalism in it, the place of information in the structure of the programs, and the difficulties encountered in this direction, the cooperation of this institution with the radio-television of the other countries, the national platform, the independence of the Albanian Radio- Television, etc.

Then the motion of distrust by 10 deputies to discharge the Leading Council and the director general of the Albanian Radio Television was conducted. The deputies of various parliamentary groups maintained opposite stands regarding the performance of the working people of this all-national institution in carrying out their mission to provide accurate information for the public opinion and fill the cultural and artistic gap. They also spoke of the role the Steering Council has been playing and the director general of the Albanian Radio Television. By majority of votes this motion was not approved.

Closing the proceedings, the Chairman of the Presidency Pjeter Arbnori invited the deputies to vote for the motion of distrust for the minister of foreign affairs forwarded by the end of December by the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party, which failed to gain the majority of votes, either.

The People's Assembly will continue proceedings on January 25 afternoon.

PD Council Issues Resolution on Economic Reform

AU2401210593 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1700 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Resolution issued by the Democratic Party National Council in Tirana on 23 January]

[Text] The National Council observes that during the months that the Democrats have been in power, fundamental achievements have been attained in conformity with the Democratic Party [PD] electoral platform. Establishing public order, overcoming isolation, beginning the economic reform, gradually establishing the law-governed state, and implementing administrative reform are among the first achievements noticed during these months. The parliamentarians and democratic government members of all central and local levels have followed up on the policy of protecting Albania's national interests, establishing the law-governed state, and finding the quickest means and safest ways to establish the market economy.

Ten months after the economic reform was introduced, the political situation in Albania has been stabilized. Compared to the problems and difficulties it has inherited, Albania is included among the former communist countries that are carrying out the transition of society and establishment of the market economy in the quickest possible way. Despite this, there is no doubt that our goals and all democratic forces should be increased.

The meeting expressed the idea that at the present stage of the reform, we also need to confront the weak points and shortcomings that are related to the lack of experience, difficulties, and other puzzling incidents. We have found that the problems coming from the destructive and nihilist policy of the Marxist-Leninist type followed by Albanian conservative communists indeed add to the natural difficulties that this transition period brings. If we consider the importance of the historic moment and the very delicate situation of the region we live in, this destructive and negative spirit sometimes takes dimensions of an antinational act.

By examining the course and results of the reform and the work performed by the government so far, we also akcnowledge the need to speed up the rates and increase the level of the government's efficiency. The work done so far shows that defining priorities and the time periods in which to fulfill them will be determined by the course of the reform. Among these priorities, the National Council observes that they should accelerate work to privatize the economy, attract foreign investments, and conclude drafting several fundamental laws that derive from the PD electoral program, such as the constitutional chapter on human rights and freedoms, laws on property, law on press, etc.

The strengthening of the administrative reform aims at a new conception of the state administration in conformity with the standards of a law-governed state and acceleration of the fight against corruption. Considering the course of the work done so far, we think that it is in the interest of the increase in the government's efficiency level to strengthen the institutional reform. The fulfillment of the priorities defined by the National Council will further accelerate and push forward the economic, political, and social reform in Albania, as this is the only way to overcome transition, the resolution approved at the PD National Council meeting concludes.

Deputy Minister Visits Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan

AU2401191393 Sofia BTA in English 1808 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Dimitur Ikonomov today returned from a visit to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. "My hosts showed keen political and economic interest in Bulgaria," he said. The purpose of the visit was, basically, to negotiate the opening of diplomatic missions in the capitals, Tashkent and Alma-Ata. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan confirmed that this may well be done in the nearest future. Bulgaria is ready to sign friendship and cooperation treaties with these and other Central Asian countries, Mr. Ikonomov stressed.

The delegation met officials at the two countries' Ministries of Foreign Economic Relations. The hosts displayed marked interest in the traditional Bulgarian exports to their markets.

In Moscow Mr. Ikonomov met with his Russian counterpart Vitaliy Churkin. They considered problems concerning the situation in the Balkans. "I believe that we exchanged exceedingly valuable views on our respective positions and on the fears of an escalation of the crisis," the Bulgarian deputy foreign minister said.

Comments on Relations

AU2401191193 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] On 24 January, Dimitur Ikonomov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, returned from his visit to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

At the airport, he said that in the next few weeks the establishment of diplomatic relations with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan will be announced. With the opening of Bulgarian embassies in Alma-Ata and Tashkent, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan will simultaneously open their embassies in Sofia. During meetings that Deputy Minister Ikonomov held in Alma-Ata and Tashkent, a readiness was expressed to more actively and intensively develop economic relations with Bulgaria. Deputy Minister Ikonomov made the following statement at the airport:

[Begin recording] My basic task was to express directly the opinion of the Bulgarian Government vested in an official document on our willingness to open our embassies in those countries. It was agreed that this will be done soon, and I am absolutely confident that this will be so. Maximum efforts will be made to open Bulgarian embassies in Alma-Ata and Tashkent so that we can increase our relations. I had meetings at the Ministries of Foreign Economic Relations in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, at which the interest in developing relations was pointed out. The interest in our traditional products was stressed. I think that great possibilities exist to market our products, despite the time that was wasted. In Kazakhstan I was even told that the people miss our products. One really notes that Bulgarian cigarettes are among the most sought-after goods in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. I am confident that there are Bulgarian companies that are already developing successful business relations with those countries, but perhaps the representatives of the state departments evoked the interest in developing interstate contacts in the sphere of political relations.

We received documents that contain those countries' laws on conducting foreign economic relations with the European states, which are already active in their markets.

I would like to stress that the great powers are really already there. They have their embassies and numerous economic representatives. Nevertheless, the interest in Bulgaria still exists. I hope that soon the Bulgarian departments and private businessmen who have interest in that region will find the common road toward turning their interest into active relations. [end recording]

Serbian Ship Refuses Customs Inspection on Danube

AU2301163893 Sofia BTA in English 1613 GMT 23 Jan 93

[From BTA review of Sofia press]

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—According to a DUMA report, the Serbian ship Bihac disappeared in the River Danube after a challenge to stop for embargo customs inspection was radioed to it from Silistra (northeastern Bulgaria) yesterday morning. Customs officials in the town suspected that the ship was carrying oil or petroleum products because it was bound for the upper Danube, pulling six barges at an average speed of 6-8 km/h. After the Serbian skipper defied the customs inspection challenge, the UN embargo experts in Ruse (north central Bulgaria) were notified. It was decided to try to stop the Bihac at the port of Ruse. A little later, all navigation control services on the Danube lost track of the ship. A Ruse inspectorate ship is on standby to intercept the Serbian ship in the port. Another ship sailed eastward to Svishtov, the next Bulgarian port on the Danube, in pursuit of the Serbian ship in case it had slipped past Ruse unnoticed during the night. "The Bulgarian river authorities do not rule out the possibility that the Serbian ship, which the Romanian authorities already tried to arrest and failed, might have started in the opposite direction," the KONTINENT daily writes, quoting Agence France-Presse.

For its part, 24 CHASA writes that the Serbian ship tried to blackmail its way on the Danube to Belgrade. The skipper threatened that if forced to stop, he would blast the six barges carrying 6,000 tonnes of diesel fuel, writes the newspaper, quoting Radio Deutsche Welle.

Berov, Greek Official Discuss Strengthening Ties

AU2201202093 Sofia BTA in English 1705 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—New initiatives are needed to improve Bulgarian-Greek relations which did not meet the two countries' expectations last year, Maria Damanaki, chairman of the Coalition of Left and Progressive Forces in Greece and vice president of parliament, told a news conference today. During her brief visit here she met with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, National Assembly chairman Aleksandur Yordanov, and leaders of parliamentary and interparliamentary parties and coalitions. Mrs. Damanaki believes that Bulgaria and Greece can intensify their cooperation.

She set forth the coalition's views on the issue of Macedonia, referring to it as the Skopje Republic. UN recognition of this state would not be in the interest of security in the region, according to her. Such a hasty step would hardly solve Balkan problems, said Mrs. Damanaki. She said that the Greek Government and the coalition hold different views on the issue but the coalition's stand is identical with European criteria and with the European Community's views. It is important for us, she said, that Macedonia's recognition should not have a negative effect on the Balkans' future. According to her, the political leadership in Skopje should amend the Constitution so as to give guarantees that Skopje has no aspirations to minorities in other countries.

Turkish Military Delegation Visits

AU2401194793 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 24 (BTA)—A delegation of the Turkish Land Forces, led by Army General Muhittin Fisunoglu, commander of the Land Forces, arrived on an official visit here today. "I am here to strengthen the relations and contacts between Turkey and Bulgaria," General Fisunoglu told a reporter of the Khorizont programme of national radio. He was invited to this visit by the commander of the Bulgarian Land Forces General Lyutskan Lyutskanov who was his guest last May.

The Turkish general is scheduled to meet with the chief of General Staff of the Bulgarian Army Colonel General Lyuben Petrov and with Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov. They will specify the joint activities provided for in the Edirne document on bilateral confidence-and security-building measures of last November and in a Bulgarian-Turkish agreement signed at the end of 1992.

IMF Delegation Departs; Official 'Optimistic'

AU2201173493 Sofia BTA in English 1551 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—The seven-day visit here of the IMF mission led by Mr. Annoup Singh ended today. The IMF delegation was received by President Zhelyu Zhelev and met with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov, deputy prime ministers Valentin Karabashev and Evgeni Matinchev, Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov, the Governor of the Bulgarian National Bank Prof. Todor Vulchev and labour leaders.

The sides primarily exchanged information. Expectations that there may be confrontation with the Fund (fostered by statements of Finance Minister Aleksandrov imprecisely reported by the media on the eve of the talks) proved wrong.

I am feeling more optimistic than I did upon my arrival and will inform the world financial community, Mr. Singh said on leaving. He motivated this view with the talks he had and especially the understanding shown by Bulgarian politicians, economists and labour leaders of the need for firm, even though painful measures. Mr. Singh sees as very important Bulgaria's readiness to continue cooperation with the international financial institutions and creditor banks and the law-makers' consent to speed up the passage of new tax legislation.

Mr. Singh is optimistic about the signing of a new agreement with Bulgaria. He said he believed the new government was seeking to speed up the economic reform through focusing on privatization and land restitution and that it would pursue a policy of gradually reducing inflation. The fund believes the government should be aiming to reduce inflation this year, but no specific targets were fixed. There is a need to substantially reduce the budget deficit by curbing the growth of incomes and by tax legislation, according to Mr. Singh.

The sides stressed the need to settle the issues related to Bulgaria's foreign debt in 1993. Creditor banks of the London Club have been waiting for the results of the visit of the IMF mission. Finance Minister Aleksandrov said the negotiations with the creditor banks would be resumed in early February. The signing of an agreement with the IMF would help them progress. However, no arrangements have been signed so far. The talks will be resumed in two weeks but an agreement can be discussed only after the IMF receives a new letter of intent from Bulgaria.

Delegation Leaves for EFTA Talks in Geneva

AU2301193893 Sofia BTA in English 1637 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—A Bulgarian delegation, led by Deputy Trade Minister Stanislav Daskalov, today left for Geneva for the second round of negotiations with the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). Before his departure Mr. Daskalov said that the wording of half of the free trade agreement provisions had been coordinated on a multilateral basis at the first round of talks in November 1992. These provisions concern trade concessions on industrial goods. The negotiations on farm concessions will be held on a bilateral basis with each of the EFTA countries, and the deputy minister believes that the talks will be the hardest with Austria and

Switzerland. The seven EFTA countries do not have a common agricultural policy, and that is why Bulgaria will negotiate with each of them separately. The rest of the agreement will be coordinated on a multilateral basis. Mr. Daskalov expressed the hope that the forthcoming round, due to end in the middle of next week, will see considerable progress and that the negotiations with EFTA will take shorter than the six months which Bulgaria needed to negotiate its association with the EC.

Prime Minister Expects 'Modest' Recovery in 1993

AU2501115793 Sofia BTA in English 1043 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The preservation of social peace is a priority, says Prime Minister Lyuben Berov in an interview for PARI, the financial and business news daily. A month after his election, he expresses guarded optimism about the prospects for overcoming the crisis. He expects economic recovery in modest proportions in second-half 1993, provided that Balkan stability persists. The sanctions against Serbia have inflicted losses to the amount of 1,000 million dollars on Bulgaria and a possible expansion of the conflict would aggravate the economic crisis, according to Mr. Berov.

He sees the economic crisis as a reason for the continuing political tensions in the country. Prof. Berov believes that the incomes of public sector employees and pensioners should be raised, as is stated in the government's policy declaration. Prime Minister Berov cites figures in support of his statement: The cost of living has gone up 40 percent since July 1992, while the wage increase was smaller by far. Civil servants and pensioners, who total three million, are the worst off. In spite of the talk about populism, something must be done in this direction because the people's patience is not infinite, says Prof. Berov.

Lyuben Berov, who described the cabinet as "the government of privatization," believes that privatization largely depends on the orientation of the newly emerged social stratum of businessmen and entrepreneurs. According to him, "these people are engaged in sectors and businesses with a high profit rate." Mr. Berov expresses his concern that they will be less interested in state-owned manufacturing enterprises due to the smaller profits and the need for larger investment.

Prof. Berov sees the instability in taxation as the reason for insufficient foreign investment in Bulgaria. "We have just started to realize that the new taxation legislation should be valid for five or ten years," Mr. Berov says. In his view, the package of taxation acts tops the list of parliament's priorities.

Commentary Views 'Old-New' Parliament

AU2201144993 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 19 Jan 93 p 6

[Commentary by Genka Markova: "Old-New Parliament"]

[Text] Parliament, which convened a day earlier than planned because of the Lilov affair, is still wearing its old clothes, with the same National Assembly deputies but with a different parliamentary majority, and it is clearly confused in its search for a medicine to treat its childhood illnesses. Following an old tradition embodied in the posttotalitarian pillars of society, the National Assembly began its work after the vacation by holding debates and raising points of procedure on a political issue.

The meeting of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] parliamentary group on 18 January demonstrates that political flexibility remains merely in the realm of good intention and is far from becoming a reality as demonstrated by specific actions, as is seen in the matter of the inquiry commission demanded by Chief Prosecutor Tatarchev, which the Socialists described as heretical.

The meeting of the SDS parliamentary group, which collapsed through tactical considerations, did not merely postpone any adoption of decisions, but registered the group's present inability to come up with a common stance. The group representing the so-called moderate tendency in the SDS coalition will probably propose a fundamental review of the procedure relating to parliamentary immunity, a view that the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] may also support.

All this undoubtedly indicates that the old-new parliament will begin its new session with protracted debates on procedural and political issues. One hopes that this will not set the pattern for the entire session because, if so, the aims of the structural stage of the reform will be forgotten.

Clinton Foreign Policy Obligations Analyzed

AU2301181893 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 21 Jan 93 p 4

[Commentary by Jiri Lhotecky: The Priorities Will, Of Course, Remain"]

[Text] It is a rare occurrence for an incoming president to assume office with the kind of verve now being displayed by Bill Clinton. Not that he would take the world by surprise by adopting forceful measures in this or that sphere, but he has—you see—no other choice.

The outgoing George Bush, who will enter into the history books for his foreign policy triumphs, made sure the new administration had, in this regard, no time for hesitation, reflection, or even any days of grace. The day before he left office Bush took military action against Iraq, which will force his successor—even against his will—to continue adopting a hard line against Saddam Hussayn. Further courses of action will, naturally, follow on from this and Clinton will have to pay more attention to U.S. foreign policy than he had wanted or planned.

What kind of foreign policy will the new Clinton administration pursue? One may assume that, in view of the traditionally very few differences between Democratic and Republican practices and in view of a certain inertia, there will be no revolutionary changes. Therefore, the hopes that the new democracies in Central and East Europe are investing in the White House change of guard may also not necessarily be fulfilled.

The prognosis entitled "an unchanging situation" is supported by the fact that Clinton and his team, which lacks vital experience in the foreign policy sphere, will be extremely occupied in fulfilling its preelection promises, all of which means dealing with domestic and economic issues such as bolstering the budget, reducing state indebtedness, combating poverty, and education reform. There may be no time or strength left to fundamentally adjust the helm in the international sphere. Although the United States' own problems have multiplied, neither the world nor its problems have diminished. Moreover, the only current world superpower cannot—on the basis of its own decision—venture to reduce the role it plays on the international scene.

However, it is difficult to speculate on the specific steps as there is no pointer to them; thus, the expert political scientists are merely guessing. The fact that the new U.S. Administration and its chief will have, whether officially or not, former President Carter—now famous for his international activity, first and foremost, in guaranteeing and supervising free elections—as an adviser provides some indication. This means acknowledging the line adopted by the last Democratic administration. In this regard, it is worth noting that the Carter administration—almost without exception—is considered a failure in both the domestic and foreign spheres.

Regardless of party affiliation, however, several issues will be dealt with during Clinton's term of office. One of these is seeking a suitable balance between an active role for the United States on the international scene and isolationism so that the pose selected is to the benefit of both the United States itself and the world. Resolving the relationship between "the politics of emotion" and "the politics of reason" is also associated with this since both lines had—and have—fierce critics; now it is necessary to find a sensible compromise.

Another closely associated, issue is the use of force—whether military or economic. While the Republicans were always willing to pay for the assertion of democratic principles and "pax Americana," the democrats are now trying to reduce the budget for foreign policy activity. Of course, it is difficult to reconcile such a concept to ideas involving a more emphatic assertion of humanitarian motivated aid. Moreover, no one has yet precisely defined what in fact humanitarian aid is, and where it ends.

However, in any case it is possible to say that the United States—even in the Clinton era—will not be able to renounce foreign policy as its priority.

U.S. Cultural Center Opens in Former Lenin Museum

AU2201151293 Prague CTK in English 2019 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Prague, Jan 20 (CTK)—A United States Cultural and Trade Centre opened today in Prague to serve as the headquarters of the U.S. Information Service (USIS) and the foreign trade service of the U.S. Embassy in the Czech Republic.

The opening ceremony was attended by Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus, former Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Adrian A. Basora and other officials.

Basora said the opening of the centre is a turning point in the relations between the United States and the Czech Republic as its goal is to raise them to the level that existed 40 years ago. He directed attention to the fact that the building where the centre is based formerly housed the Lenin Museum. This building will no longer be the tabernacle of ideology, but will become a place for open, lively discussions, a centre supporting prosperity based on the market economy, Basora said.

Our country and its people are convinced that the United States is the key country creating the history of our century, said Klaus. We respect everything this country has done for us. We know that at present the base for our mutual understanding has to be enlarged and it is this centre, which is a wonderful means to achieve the goal, Klaus said.

Former Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel praised the current relations between the Czech Republic and

the United States which, he said, have never been as good as in the last three years. [passage omitted]

Minister Sees Obstacles to Agreement With Germany

LD2301212793 Prague CTK in English 1753 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 23 (CTK)—For the time being, the Czech Republic will not sign with Germany any bilateral agreement on the transfer of refugees, Czech Interior Minister Jan Ruml told journalists today after his return from a two-day visit to Germany.

In Germany he discussed the consequences of the German legislation under which about 50,000 economic refugees should start to be deported as of April 1 from Germany across its border with the Czech Republic and Poland.

Ruml said no document will be signed until agreements are concluded with Central and East European countries which would guarantee that the refugees will be returned without any problem to the countries from which they came.

Ruml said that he had been assured in Germany that the refugee problem would not be solved to the detriment of the Czech Republic.

Ruml met with his German and Bavarian counterparts, Rudolf Seiters and Edmund Stoiber, State Minister in the Chancellor's Office Bernd Schmidbauer, and head of the Federal Constitution Protection Office Ekkart Werhebach.

He told journalists that one of the first actions might be the deportation of 40,000 Romanian citizens via the Czech Republic.

He said the German side assured him that the installation of border monitoring equipment on the Czech-German border is not meant as a new iron curtain between East and West. The Czech Republic will also be able to use the equipment, Ruml said.

He stressed that the Czech Republic should also tighten its visa policy in relation to some East European countries. He will submit new principles of the migration policy by the end of January.

Ruml sees the situation on the Czech-Slovak border as one of the obstacles which do not allow a consistent solution of the migration problem.

A guarded border with border crossings similar to that between the Czech Republic and its neighbours, Poland, Hungary and Germany, should be built as soon as possible between the Czech Republic and Slovakia, Ruml said.

Also discussed in Germany was the conclusion of an agreement on free movement of people in areas along the state border. This is hampered by the German demand that bilingual Czech-German signs be erected in the communities concerned, Ruml said.

He said he admitted in Germany that nuclear materials are smuggled via the territory of the Czech Republic.

Klaus: Collapse of Agreements To Affect Ties With Slovakia

LD2201230693 Prague CTK in English 1847 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 22 (CTK)—A collapse of any of the agreements concluded between the Czech Republic and Slovakia would complicate our relations with Slovakia, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today.

He was responding to CTK's request to comment on former Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel's prediction that some agreements between the two new republics may break down. According to some newspapers Havel made the statement in a meeting Thursday [21 January] with deputies from the Liberal Social Union (LSU).

Klaus did not rule out that a break-down of any agreement may have an adverse impact on the Czech Republic.

No Need For 'Extraordinary Measures' in Bohemia Seen

AU2201145893 Prague CTK in English 1913 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 20 (CTK)—The Czech Government does not underestimate the seriousness of the migration problem [migration of Slovak gypsies] in several areas of the country, but sees no need for extraordinary measures to ease the situation, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today.

The situation is serious, but in no way threatening, he said.

He said the government considers the enforcement of existing legal regulations and amendments sufficient for controlling the situation and rejects the idea of extraordinary measures, because in no time every other city in the Republic could find reasons to declare its own special situation.

It appears to us somewhat that several mayors in North Bohemia are already beginning a pre-election campaign for local elections and are dramatising the situation more than it deserves, Klaus said. In response to statements that the migration situation has caused a large increase in crime in the region, he added that the justice and interior ministers have found the greatest increase not in major crimes, but in petty theft.

Havel Explains Role of Czech President

AU2201114893 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 Jan 93 p 7

[Article by Vaclav Havel: "The Role of the Czech President"]

[Text] The position of the first Czech president will not be much different from the position of the last Czechoslovak president—the difference is that he will be the head of a different country. Another difference is that the function of the Czech president is defined in the Czech Constitution in a substantially different way from the function of the federal president. Third, his position will be different owing to the radical changes in the political situation in the country. After the recent elections, the Czech Republic has embarked upon a different phase of development, different from the one Czechoslovakia went through in the last two and half years, that is, the phase of the stabilization of parliamentary democracy, based, quite clearly, on the competition of political parties of various orientations, and on a clearly defined system of political power-sharing. The postrevolutionary era has finally ended, and the president will not have the curious role of "leader of the nation" any longer. He will not be a symbol of the new era, nor will he will be forced—or allowed—to intervene in every sphere, that is, to be responsible for everything.

In view of all this, it would be unwise to demand that the Czech presidential candidate delivers his own integrated "political program"; a program for the legislative and executive administration of the state. The Czech president will not be the head of the executive, or the leader of the parliamentary majority, but rather an indirectly elected constitutional official with a quite specific position and mission. As such, he will certainly have proposals to push forward, but he definitely cannot promise any solutions, in the form of a political program, to problems in which he is not entitled to intervene. In fact, there is only one thing that is required of him: To have an idea about the constitutional and political status of his office, and about the ways—if he were elected—he would implement these ideas. He should be aware of the values he would defend, protect, and promote, as head of state, in exercising his powers and in his public activity.

According to the Constitution, the government assumes power, or is deprived of power, when the Chamber of Deputies gives it a vote of confidence or no-confidence. On the other hand, the president is elected by both chambers of parliament, and more importantly, is not responsible to parliament for his activity, that is, he cannot be recalled by parliament.

What does this mean, specifically? It means, basically, that governments may come and go, the Chamber of Deputies may be dissolved, elections can—depending on the changing political mood of the society—bring new people to power. The president will, however, stay in office for his five-year term. He will not passively observe political changes, but, on the contrary, he will be an active participant in them: It is within his powers to appoint the government and, under certain conditions, to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies. That means that it is precisely at moments of political change or crisis that his importance will significantly increase, since he will be the one who will intervene in such situations and bridge the crisis, or directly solve it. This is why he cannot be recalled. If to remain in office were dependent on the changing political situation or mood, then he would hardly be able to carry out this role.

The fact that the president cannot be recalled, in addition to these powers, is the key, in my opinion, to understanding the reason for his special constitutional, and thereby also political role: He should become a guarantor of—or a mediator in—the continuity of our state power, and also a synonym for the identity and integrity of the state (he represents the state abroad!). That is, he should represent a certain constant in the constitutional and political system, a kind of "a fixed point", an institution of the "last resort"—or the "last solution"— and represent permanent security amidst the dynamics of democratic development.

If this is how we understand the raison d'etre of the presidential office, then much else follows.

Above all, the president should focus on matters of principal and long-term importance—matters touching upon the very existence and democratic substance of the state. He should seek stability of the political system and promote values on which the state has been established; he should protect constitutionality and the constitutional order, and deal with matters that concern the authority of the state with respect to other countries. He should not participate in mundane and ephemeral political disputes and quarrels as the political entities that compete among themselves on the political scene do. (This is why he should not identify himself with any of the existing political parties.) To implement daily policy is for the government, or the parties who form a government coalition, as the case may be, not the president. This means that the president should not appear on television everyday, as one who is solving all the possible and impossible "questions of the day." He should stay somewhere in the background, as a certain guarantee of the legitimacy of these solutions.

However, not even the president can "move upon the face of the waters." Such behavior would be irresponsible. His contact with everyday politics should have a different and a specific character. He should be an inconspicuous moderator in political discussions, a seeker for consensus, a creator of the opportunity for reaching agreements, a certain integrating factor, a kind of a guard of political culture. He should focus on the way and the style in which various political disputes are solved, rather than on their "factual" content. To put it simply: He should watch whether the rules of the game are being observed, rather than engage in "playing" the game himself.

In my opinion, the president should—as someone who is, to a certain extent, outside the world of political parties and who is obliged to satisfy general and common interests—also seek to prevent the political parties from succumbing to the temptation to understand the state as their exclusive property and to begin the inconspicuous strangulation of natural and free association (a process that may be observed in some parliamentary democracies). The president should not let his contacts with political parties lead him to neglect his contacts with other bodies of irreplaceable importance (from churches to trade unions). Through contacts with all sectors of civic society, he should constantly stress that real democracy can develop only on the basis of truly independent and all-encompassing associations, and that only diversity and richness of social associations can create a properly inspirational milieu for the political parties, who, while being the basic tool of democracy, are not its objective and goal.

The president should enjoy authority in the sphere of "state" and "general society," but his authority should not be "political" authority and it should not be restricted to critical situations, when he acts as an arbiter, appeaser, or solution finder. The weight of his words should be based on the respect he gives his office, and should be less dependent on political forces or groups which may be supporting him at any particular moment.

Against the general background of this, an important task of the president is, in my opinion, to see to it that there is a good political atmosphere in the country and a good climate in public life. I am convinced that the overall political stability and orderly development in the country can influence this climate more than one would admit. Stressing the moral meaning of citizenship, stressing moral principles in politics and the spiritual dimension of social coexistence, ensuring that the role of the state is to serve the people (which it can only do if it has certain authority), issuing appeals for responsibility and calls for tolerance, forbearance, and mutual understanding—all this will become an important and permanent duty of the president, a role which will directly ensue from his function. The effect of such "political-and-educational" work never appears immediately. This effect is indirect, it takes a long time to emerge, and its existence is often difficult to prove. This is one more reason why this should become a task for this constitutional official, the president, who is not dependent on the mood prevailing at the moment.

In general, the president should, above all, focus on systemic matters of general value, matters related to the general "climate," that is, matters linked, to a greater or lesser extent, to the problems of the state, its democratic identity, and political stability.

More specifically, human rights must be, in my opinion, the first thing with which the president should be intensively and permanently concerned. Here, he can become intensively engaged, and even directly, in individual cases without violating the jurisdiction of other constitutional institutions, or becoming involved to an improper extent in the political disputes of the day. This task emanates from the obligation a head of the state should certainly have: To guard and certify the basic human values on which the state is based.

The common denominator of the president's activity cannot be, as I have indicated, a "political program" in the general sense of the world, that is, a collection of specific goals in all areas of social life. Political parties are entitled to have such a program and to promote it, and then the government may implement it in its policy statement. For the president, something else should be the common denominator: the common spirit. It should be spirit of respect for mankind and human dignity, respect for the democratic essence of the state and its long-term interests, a spirit of global responsibility for matters related to human society. This "spirit" can hardly be summarized as a collection of ideas. This spirit can be shown to exist through our personal and public actions, our approach to various tasks, the "architecture" of public activity, the style of our work, and the values that we stress.

Every president will have, of course, his own very specific ideas about how to solve this or that problem, how to proceed in this or that sphere of foreign policy or economic, social, educational, or defense policy. No one can prevent him from voicing his opinions in talks and public addresses. Nevertheless, every president should impose certain limits on himself and to consider well what, when, and how he should say something. He should not destabilize the situation by improperly entering those spheres that are not under his direct jurisdiction, or by questioning the political program of those who have received the support of the voters in general and direct elections. It is not easy to find the correct balance between the obligation to speak the truth in accordance with one's best conscience, and the obligation to respect the democratic division of power and the political mandate of other constitutional institutions. A certain feel for the given situation, or an intuition —such an "unscientific" thing—will clearly be what finally determines this balance.

The president has the right to send laws back to parliament to be debated again. This is an important right. This is not only an insurance against possible arbitrary or willful decisions by parliament. In fact, it is the only insurance, or curb, that the executive has over parliament. However, what is more important, this right can intensify cooperation and create good relations between president and parliament. It will certainly be in parliament's interest to avoid the situation in which the president would send a law back, and so parliament will familiarize the president with the law before it is passed, or they may discuss it law with him informally. This is how the president could be drawn closer into the legislative process, be indirectly absorbed into the process, and familiarized with its atmosphere. Signing the law will not, then, be purely ceremonial, but will fully

approve the law. As one who represents the state, the president will be more responsible for the legislation of this country, and will not be able to say that he has no influence on the laws as an excuse.

In the same way, the right to suspend laws can lead to closer cooperation between the president and parliament, and the principle that the law must be cosigned [by the prime minister] (which makes the government responsible, too) may lead to closer cooperation with the government. The president and the government will, in a certain sense, depend on each other, and the president will need the government's signature for many of his tasks and, equally, the government will also need the president's signature in many cases. Thus, the danger of the two institutions following two different paths will be eliminated. These two institutions will simply have to cooperate on a daily basis, even if they do not want to. In spheres such as foreign policy and army matters, the policy of the state will be, more or less, a result of these two forces. (Foreign policy is within the jurisdiction of the foreign minister acting in the spirit of government policy; the president, however, represents the state abroad and is thereby responsible for this policy. The defense minister acts in conformity with the government's will, but he cannot circumvent, or choose to ignore, the supreme commander of the Armed Forces.)

Through both of these principles (the veto and the cosigning), the Constitution creates a good opportunity for productive cooperation between the president and parliament, and the president and the government. Because of this, the president can exert—albeit indirectly—strong influence on state policy. I do not believe, however, that he should abuse his influence and stubbornly assert his ideas, or obstruct—or even blackmail—those who are direct representatives of the political will of the people. I only believe that, in the case of need, he could use his influence to defend the long-term and public interest, to the detriment of the possibly momentary interests of particular parties, interests which the government, and parliament, too, could insist on (before elections, in particular). Such interference in the situation would fit the role the president should, in my opinion, be playing in the future. That is, the role of guardian of those spiritual, moral, and political values, upon which the state was established. He should defend the country's long-term prospects and international prestige, and be capable of sacrificing temporary interests for the benefit of the greater general interest and that of future generations.

During my brief presence in "high politics" so far, I have become convinced that in democracy at least 50 percent of politics is psychology. Regardless of a politician's many abilities and good intentions, he may be right, have expert knowledge and advisers, he may be industrious and dedicated to his work—but this is not enough to secure him the slightest importance, never mind success, if he does not know how to deal with people (individuals and the public) and is unable to attract their interest to his cause. This is why the Czech president's situation will not be at all easy; he will not have any automatic influence on public matters and he will have to work hard for his place in the sun; he will have to use the his own personal authority and the credibility of his work. I believe, however, that this is all to the good.

Moravian-Silesian Nationalism Criticized

AU2201152693 Prague CTK in English 2213 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 20 (CTK)—The Movement For Self-Governing Democracy For Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS) deputies' group said today that the moves of the Moravian-Silesian Assembly aimed at establishing the Moravian-Silesian Land are inappropriate as they do not take into consideration the current political situation.

The assembly, set up on November 28 by 24 federal and Czech parliament deputies for four opposition parties, at its meeting in Kromeriz, South Moravia, last Saturday [16 January] agreed to set up a commission to draft a bill on the establishment of the Moravian-Silesian Land within the Czech Republic.

HSDMS deputies' group said in a statement that under the pretext of directing attention to the facts unfavourable for citizens of Moravia and Silesia and mainly to the Czech Government's continuous discrimination against Moravia and Silesia in the distribution of funds and subsidies from the state budget for 1993, the assembly put forth unrealistic demands. In the current circumstances they lead to the destabilisation of the situation in Moravia and Silesia and harm talks on the Czech Republic's administrative division, says the statement.

The statement stresses that the HSDMS considers strengthening of nationalist tendencies in the Czech lands and Moravia a negative phenomenon in its consequences harming justified interests of Moravian and Silesian citizens.

ODS Leaders Reject Party Split Speculations

LD2201170093 Prague CTK in English 1547 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 22 (CTK)—The leaders of the Civic Democratic Party (ODS) today rejected speculations in the media about any split or tension within the party, calling them an attempt to destabilise the domestic political scene.

None of the ODS bodies on republic or regional level, including its two parliamentary groups (one in the Czech parliament and the other consisting of former federal parliament deputies), hold this opinion and it is a mistake to generalise statements of several individuals, says a statement, signed by ODS Chairman Vaclav Klaus, Vice Chairmen Jan Strasky, Josef Zieleniec and Jiri Vlach, and Executive Vice Chairman Petr Cermak.

The latest speculations about possible disunity within the ODS appeared last Wednesday [20 January] after a meeting of former ODS federal deputies. They had agreed already at the end of last year they would remain active in politics as a group. Some of their comments in the press were critical of the fulfilment of the ODS election programme, in particular the part concerning support for medium and small businessmen and the impact of the new tax system.

According to today's RUDE PRAVO, former head of the ODS federal parliamentary group Jaroslav Mlcak had said that considerable differences of opinion between the party leadership and part of the former deputies' group have really emerged. Mlcak refused the term faction for the group, but conceded the existence of a fundamentalist group within the ODS.

Extraordinary Increase in Deposits Reported

AU2201183493 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Jan 93 p 1

[Interview with Pavel Jirousek, press spokesman of the Czech Savings Bank, by "aw"; place and date not given]

[Excerpt] ["aw"] Is it possible to estimate the growth of the population's deposits in the first weeks of January?

[Jirousek] Livelier business and growth of deposits is a phenomenon that is quite common for the beginning of the year. However, this year it is possible to speak about an extraordinary frequency [of bank visits], particularly in Prague and other big cities. A major role in this is undoubtedly being played by the decision of many citizens to deposit temporarily untied cash resources on bank accounts in conjunction with the announced currency separation.

Just for illustration—whereas in January 1992 savings banks reported an increase of deposits by approximately 1.1 billion korunas for the entire month, this year we estimate that the growth of deposits might reach 3-4 billion korunas for the first 15 days of January alone. [passage omitted]

Minister Refuses To Confirm, Deny Currency Split

LD2301204993 Prague CTK in English 1714 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 23 (CTK)—Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik has neither confirmed nor refuted the information that the Czechoslovak currency will split at the weekend February 6-7, which was today carried by the Czech daily "LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE" referring to a high-placed source close to the Czech cabinet.

In an interview with CTK, Kocarnik said the Czech-Slovak border will probably be closed in connection with the currency separation.

The Slovak Government counts with this, he said and added that this is a usual procedure aimed to prevent speculative movement of money.

The Czech-Slovak treaty on currency union, signed October 29, 1992, will be most probably abroagated on the basis of mutual agreement, Kocarnik said.

Foreign Minister Says Borders Inviolable

LD2301141793 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Telephone report by Alexandr Picha, correspondent in Bratislava]

[Text] Slovakia's borders are inviolable and no border changes are being considered. This was stated today by Foreign Minister Milan Knazko, answering a question posed by Czech Radio as to how Slovakia would implement the argument according to which it had been deprived of territory during the changes of the border between Czechoslovakia and Poland in 1920. Minister Knazko answered a follow-up question by Czech Radio, stating that Slovakia would not even demand property compensation for the loss. On 21 January, during the talks on property settlement with the Czech Republic, the Slovak side pointed out that this loss of territory by Slovakia should be a reason for the Czech side to be more accommodating.

Today, Minister Knazko also reported on his visit to the United Nations. He repeatedly stressed that the peaceful division of the Federation has evoked interest in the new UN member, Slovakia. The Slovak foreign minister, at the same time, rejected the initiative of the New York-based Human Rights Foundation, which had appealed to the United Nations to send a fact-finding mission to Slovakia to inspect the observation of human rights there. Minister Knazko said that Slovakia would not demand the sending of a similar mission to Hungary. He did not exclude however that there might be some foundation that would ask the United Nations to do so.

And one more piece of hot news from Bratislava. According to trustworthy sources, intensive secret talks are being held at the Slovak Finance Ministry, allegedly on the issue of the division of the currency. The ministry has refused to comment for the time being. I will just mention that on 25 January the currency committee is expected to meet, despite the fact that Slovak financiers originally asked the Czech side for a postponement.

Slovakia Has No Territorial Claims

LD2301214293 Prague CTK in English 1801 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 23 (CTK)—The Slovak Republic has and will have no territorial claims, its border is unchangeable, Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko told journalists today after his return from the United States.

He was reacting to a report that in Thursday's [21 January] Czech-Slovak talks on federal property division, Slovak negotiators wanted the loss of part of Slovakia's territory to the benefit of Poland 1920 to be taken into consideration.

In the 1920 frontier adjustment, Czechoslovakia ceded to Poland 30 villages in north-western Slovakia, after acquiring more of the Tesin region in northern Moravia from Poland.

Slovakia will not demand any financial compensation from the Czech Republic, Knazko pointed out.

He said his ministry will initiate the creation of an expert commission to evaluate the conditions of ethnic minorities in Central and East Europe.

The commission should be made up of experts from Hungary, the Slovak Republic, and the Council of Europe.

Knazko said he does not agree with the initiative of the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation in the United States to send UN experts to study the situation of ethnic minorities in Central and East Europe.

Official Hungarian places have not demanded this, he stressed.

Some forces in Hungary have been accusing Slovakia of oppressing the 600,000 Hungarian minority in Slovakia.

Ties With Czech Republic Is Focus of Foreign Policy

LD2401150093 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1300 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Officials of the Slovak parliamentary parties held talks on Slovak foreign policy in Bratislava on 24 January. Our Bratislava correspondent Alexander Picha reports:

[Begin recording] All Slovak parliamentary parties expressed their support for the development of problem free and best possible relations with the Czech Republic today. In his statement for Czech radio, Foreign Minister Milan Knazko stressed that Slovak parties did agree especially with the government's idea to secure the largest possible foreign economic exchange with the Czech side. As for migration policy, according to Knazko, Slovakia aims at a similar policy as the Czech Republic does, but also similar to those in Austria, Germany, and other Central European countries.

Jan Carnogursky reported that these resolutions of the Christian Democratic Movement. He said that the talks held by the parties at the Slovak Foreign Ministry today also dealt with Slovakia's relation to NATO, the EC, and other European institutions. He remarked that the majority of Slovak parties disagreed with some of the centrifugal tendencies of the Czech Republic toward the Visegrad Group. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Constitutional Court To Be Based in Kosice

AU2201152293 Prague CTK in English 2030 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 20 (CTK)—The Slovak parliament today passed a law on the organisation of the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic, which was established under the Slovak Constitution adopted on September 3, 1992.

According to the law, the Constitutional Court will be based in Kosice, East Slovakia. The law also sets down the powers of its judges.

Under the Slovak Constitution, the Constitutional Court consists of 10 judges who should be chosen by the president out of 20 candidates proposed by the parliament. The Slovak parliament has already proposed 19 candidates in a secret ballot. Milan Cic, former Czechoslovak deputy premier, is proposed as a candidate for the court's president.

SDSS, SDL Forge Closer Cooperation Ties

AU2201152493 Prague CTK in English 1325 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 20 (CTK)—The Slovak Social Democratic Party (SDSS) is considering cooperating with deputies from the Democratic Left Party (SDL) in order to push through its initiatives in the Slovak National Council, said SDSS Deputy Chairman Lubor Bystricky at a press conference here today.

Due to the dissolution of the Federal Assembly on December 31, 1992, the SDSS is no longer represented in parliament.

Bystricky said that both parties are considering the creation of a coalition for the local elections in 1994, and are already supporting joint candidates in the by-elections for town administration, such as mayor of Kosice.

He said that although the Slovak National Council declined Tuesday [19 January] to establish a second chamber of parliament, the transfer of Federal Assembly deputies is still not decided. If one attempt failed, it does not mean that there will not be more, he stated.

Andrejcak Opposed as SNS Defense Minister

AU2201152093 Prague CTK in English 1747 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 20 (CTK)—The Slovak National Party (SNS) deputies' group in the Slovak parliament protested today against the candidacy of former Czechoslovak Defence Minister Imrich Andrejcak for Slovak defence minister.

Andrejcak's candidacy was officially announced by Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar on Saturday [16 January].

In its interpellation, the SNS deputies' group labels Andrejcak as one of the toughest and most active executors of the policy of the Communist Party until 1989 and an advocate of alliance with the Soviet Union of the Brezhnev era for all time.

The deputies said that as late as November 24, 1989 (the first week of Czechoslovakia's 'Velvet' Revolution—ed.), Andrejcak, as commander of the Eastern Military Zone, reported to the chief of the general staff that the units selected for action are ready to restore order and peace in defence of communism.

The SNS deputies' group also protested against the possibility that a man who was speaking about a common (Czechoslovak) army and its joint command till the last moment should be entrusted with the task of building Slovakia's Army... and decide about the top posts at the Slovak Defence Ministry.

Andrejcak's candidacy was also rejected by the Association of Slovak Soldiers on Sunday [17 January].

New Fund Intended To Increase Currency's Stability

AU2201151893 Prague CTK in English 1412 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 20 (CTK)—A worldwide collection to set up a National Fund of Slovakia, to start officially on January 31, is expected to increase the stability of the Slovak currency.

The collection is organised by the Matica Slovenska Foundation, the National Bank of Slovakia and the General Credit Bank.

At a press conference today, General Credit Bank officials said citizens will be able to offer cash, foreign currency as well as precious metals. Donors will obtain a certificate even when they offer a minimum of 100 crowns (about three USD [U.S. dollars]) in case of individuals or 1,000 crowns in case of companies.

The bank will keep files about donors, but will reveal their personal data only with their consent.

Peter Strelinger, a member of the Matica Slovenska Foundation Board, conceded the collection could be an opportunity for laundering money. But, he added, we do not renounce these gifts because they will serve Slovakia's benefit.

The Fund will increase reserves of the Slovak National Bank and interests from it will be used to finance the Foundation's activities, he said.

Editorial Views 'Changeover' in Washington

AU2301171593 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Jan 93 p 3

[Editorial by Peter Sereny: "Changeover, Beginning of a New Era"]

[Text] They once called it a "changover." This was the natural comparison used in times of world wars and the cold war.

Today, the United States is speaking about "a change in generation" or even "the beginning of a new era."

Moreover, the first moment of the Clinton presidency had a slight mood of "change in the regime" after 12 years of Republican administration. Although, naturally, the regime remains the same, the new president is taking office with the promise of improving changes.

It seems that the "changeover" suggests the continuation of the same. Perhaps the expression "beginning of a new era" is serious enough to be preferred by historians later. The expression "a change in generation," however, carries the possibility of this greater change in the course.

With the departure of George Bush, a generation is leaving the leadership of the United States, a generation whose decisive experience was the great economic crisis and World War II. With Bill Clinton, a generation born after these two historical commotions enters the White House.

This is not their merit, but it is definitely to their advantage. These people grew up in a different world and as different individuals, compared with the previous generation. They view the world with fresh (or fresher) eyes, a world that prejudices inherited from the past could break up into pieces in this very moment.

Clinton is taking over the leadership of the world's biggest power when history has "torn up into pieces" the compass of the bipolar world. Gathering information and leading—this is his challenge. We do not yet know, but we hope that he will have enough strength to face the challenge because, given the more fortunate period of its birth and education, his generation can face the accumulating problems of the world more openly and with less bias.

If that is the case, with the inauguration of William Jefferson Clinton, we are indeed witnessing not only a tradition-managing "changeover," but a new beginning as well.

Parties View Congress of Romanian Hungarians

AU2101154793 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Jan 93 p 3

[Interviews with Gyorgy Csoti, member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and deputy chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee; Miklos Gaspar Tamas, chairman of the National Council of the Alliance of Free Democrats; Ivan Peto, chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats; Zsolt Nemeth, member of the Presidium of the Federation of Young Democrats; and Sandor Gyorivanyi, leader of the parliamentary group of the Independent Smallholders Party's Torgyan wing by "B.T."; place and date not given: "It Is Not a Tool of Party Politics in Hungary"]

[Text] All the significant Hungarian political groups sent high-level representatives to the Brasov congress of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] where the good wishes of the parties were expressed. As it emerged from their speeches and as was specifically stated by some of them, their views are identical on the issues of the rights and the protection of Hungarians living beyond the border. In connection with this, we wanted to find out whether the unity of the Hungarian politicians' views is also true for the work of the Brasov congress, and the short and long term goals, strategy, tactics, and methods which were accepted at the congress.

["B.T."] What are your views on the heated debates at the congress?

[Csoti] I feel that, in spite of the sharp debates, the work of the congress was always directed toward a compromise that can preserve unity. This is extremely important and, in my view, almost everyone identified with the principle of unity in diversity. I am convinced that this is the only feasible way to represent the interests of Hungarians in Romania. The congress also proved that the power structure is rather balanced within the RMDSZ, and this is one of the guarantees that there will not be a break or rift within the organization.

["B.T."] How would you formulate the basic principles of maintaining relations between the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and the Hungarians in Romania?

[Csoti] The MDF views on this are unchanged and we continue to insist that the cause of the Hungarians living beyond the border cannot become a tool of party political goals. This view is also shared by the other parliamentary parties.

["B.T."] Has the Brasov congress resulted in improvement in the lives of Hungarians in Romania and of the RMDSZ?

[Tamas] I believe that in the end, the sickness of maturity has also caught up with the RMDSZ. Political pluralism could not possibly have avoided an organization like the RMDSZ. Undoubtedly, the internal debates and disputes among the allies are often upsetting, but the important thing is for the RMDSZ to preserve its unity under the conditions of pluralism. Two elements make this particularly important: On one hand, the RMDSZ is a corporation which has to cope with serious economic and social organizational functions. This background is very important from the point of view of its political influence. On the other hand, a relatively solid electoral

basis has a great value in the Romanian electoral system. Naturally, the emergence of various trends within this is unavoidable. It was an unpleasant side-effect of this that debates within the RMDSZ have never been as heated as this, and the prominent Hungarian personalities in Romania, like Geza Szocs, Laszlo Tokes, and Eva Cs. Gyimesi, have never faced each other in such a heated press debate as now. This also means that they have come off their former pedestals into the arena and they are not untouchable any longer. The romantic era has ended. I know that many people are upset by this human closeness, the recognition that great people also have human weaknesses. This is a natural process, however, that took a little longer in Transylvania than in Hungary or even in Bucharest.

["B.T."] Do you find the sharp debates at the congress worrying?

[Peto] This congress resembles similar meetings of other political parties because the trends that exist in the political organizations of other countries have also emerged in the RMDSZ. It is natural for the divisive tendencies in Hungarian politics to appear in the RMDSZ. This is the main experience. Another important experience is that the cause of the Hungarians in Romania cannot be represented without maintaining relations with the Romanian political forces. A very positive feeling was given by the fact that representatives of the Romanian democratic parties attended the congress and they considered it important to express their views. I find dialogue with the Romanian democratic parties to be very important. This is why I was happy to see that a number of people came to meet us. For example, we talked to a peasant party representative who expressed very similar views to ours on the issues of human rights and the protection of minorities. Their views are significantly different from those of the Romanian governing party. We also met the representative of the government with whom we agreed that official political links were important. In these we must both find the points that alleviate the tensions.

["B.T."] What were the lessons of the congress for you?

[Nemeth] It is surprising how indecisive the debates showed the power structure to be. Naturally, this can be explained if we consider that in the case of the RMDSZ, all the debates have to be carried out through prior coordination for which we have Parliament and the media in Hungary. We must not forget that, because of its situation, the RMDSZ has to show a united front to the outside and the internal disputes that also emerged during this congress become even stronger as a result of this. The unity of the RMDSZ, however, is not being threatened by anything and, as we could also conclude from this congress, this organization continues to follow a political line that is open toward the Romanians. In the interest of implementing this successfully, in the course of the intensifying election campaign during the next 12 to 18 months, the political forces should refrain from exporting their internal divisions.

["B.T."] On the basis of the congress, what are your views on the power lines among the Hungarians in Romania?

[Gyorivanyi] The RMDSZ is the strongest regional organization and we have great hopes about its potential. I saw with regret, however, that it mirrors the organizations in Hungary. The Hungarian Smallholders Party in Romania is the largest and strongest force in this organization, and we always encourage them from Hungary to preserve the unity that is necessary for effective political activities. If we tear the 2 million Hungarians apart into various organizations, then our major goal, namely to preserve the Hungarians of Romania, will be endangered. The Independent Smallholders Party gives its utmost support to its sister organization that is part of the RMDSZ, and we welcome the fact that they can represent the ideology embraced by our party's slogan—God, Home, Family—plus democracy and tolerance in Romania.

Democratic Forum National Conference Opens 22 Jan

LD2201150993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Report by Andras Kerekes from the Budapest Sports Hall]

[Text] Jozsef Antall wants to represent in the future, in the most resolute manner, the Hungarian centrist policy that is also at the center and right of center of the European value system.

The party chairman's brief welcoming speech dwelt only on a few issues, but he indicated that he will deliver a longer, more substantive speech later. He stressed, above all, that the national conference must unequivocally take a stance on all those basic political and economic-political issues that weigh down a government party. Among the values he mentioned, he stressed stability above all, which so many countries lack. Together with this goes the realization of reforms.

We shall carry out the transformation, Antall said. He reiterated: The transition from the socialist planned economy to the socialist market economy is a task that requires at least two terms of office. He stressed that we have to reject concepts inclined toward extremes. We must continue henceforth with the greatest determination along the path that has been established.

Antall then stressed: It will be decided at this national conference whether a strong party will emerge from the debates or whether the Hungarian Democratic Forum will disintegrate. Within the party there are differences of views and strong divergences, Antall said.

These culminated before the national conference. They touched upon the direction of the country as a whole. It is a question of divergences in regard to power, direction, and method, Antall said. He then said that nobody can

force him to pursue a policy with which he does not agree and that he considers to be harmful to the country. Under no circumstances will he give up human decency.

He is not the one who dug up the tomahawk [a csatabardot nem oe asta ki], he added. Then, without naming names or making any concrete reference, he stated: On 20 August 1992 [Hungarian national holiday of St. Stephen] an ascending nation was celebrating and an incipient political beginning was ruined, the continuation of which we would by now have carried a lot further if that had not happened.

Procedural issues are being dealt with at the moment. Back to the studio.

Antall Remains Sole Candidate for HDF Chairman

LD2101230593 Budapest MTI in English 1950 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 21 (MTI)—Jozsef Antall has remained the only candidate for chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) one day before the three-day national meeting of Hungary's largest ruling party, scheduled to begin at 2 pm on Friday [22 January].

HDF Presidium member Sandor Lezsak and acting chairman Lajos Fur announced at an impromptu news briefing on Thursday afternoon that they would not compete for chairmanship.

Leszak explained, "at present, we see Jozsef Antall as the sole person able to lead the Hungarian Democratic Forum."

HDF officials said that Interior Minister Peter Boross had also indicated he would not run for party chair.

Smallholders Form New Party

AU2201145593 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Jan 93 p 4

[Report by Jozsef Szabo Bartha: "Faithful to the Coalition—Conservative Smallholders Party Has Been Formed"]

[Text] According to NEPSZABADSAG's reliable information, the Conservative Smallholders and Civic Party [KKPP], which completely broke away from the Smallholders led by Jozsef Torgyan, has been entered at the Court of Registration.

The symbol of the KKPP is a double cross in an orb. It defines itself as an election and program party that rejects ideological and religious commitments. It wants to be a civic and an agrarian party at the same time. It looks upon the Anglo-Saxon conservatives as an example to be followed, also accepting the intellectual traditions of the Hungarian reform era. An enterprise-friendly market economy, economic development, and the broadening of a Hungarian civic sphere sensitive to social problems and social conflicts are among its expressed goals.

According to our information, the KKPP can only see its place within the government coalition. They are holding forward talks with the "Smallholder 36," the parliamentary group of deputies which broke with Torgyan and, together with conservative-minded deputies, they are likely to form the KKPP's own parliamentary faction as early as February.

According to our information, the KKPP's financial background is provided by agrarian and industrial enterprise groups in the hope that the new party will "fittingly" represent their interests in legislation. The deputies from the counties and Budapest will accept the party's program and statute at the first, inaugural session of the national council at the beginning of February, when the party's board, chairman, and deputy chairman will also be elected.

Until the national council is convened, the KKPP is led by a managing body. Its members are Bela Nemeth, Emese Ugrin, Gyula Lehoczki, Peter Mogyorosi, and Agnes Paszti.

Skubiszewski Urges More Attention From EEC

PM2501094393 Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Jan 93 p 3

[Interview with Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by Sylvie Kauffmann in Paris on 18 January]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] A member of the first noncommunist government in Eastern Europe formed three and a half years ago, Mr. Skubiszewski—the only foreign minister to have survived all the governmental instabilities of the region—stands as a doyen vis-a-vis the West. This doubtless grants him a kind of moral authority, by virtue of which he protested—in an interview that he granted us in Paris on 18 January—against the narrow-mindedness and selfishness of the EEC with respect to the new developments on the European continent.

It was of course a very diplomatic protest, expressed in pondered and well-chosen terms. But the message is clear: Beware, Mr. Skubiszewski was basically telling the West Europeans; we, your neighbors, do exist and we can be useful to you; do not neglect us; that will cost you very dearly in former Yugoslavia.

He permitted himself to issue this warning because Poland seems to be starting to see the light at the end of the tunnel as far as its economy is concerned—at the cost of huge efforts—and because there are signs of incipient growth. This is an encouraging development for a country that has set EEC membership as the "strategic goal of its foreign policy." Even though, Mr. Skubiszewski admitted, "for the present we are not ready to join the EEC. This must take place in stages. We have concluded a treaty of association with the EEC, as have Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Association opens up prospects that must be exploited."

Having said that, the EEC too must set its own house in order. "The West helped us a great deal at the time of the collapse of communism," the Polish minister acknowledged. "But it satisfies itself with responding to specific events. What is still missing is a long-term strategy (for this part of the world). Association with the EEC lies within the framework of such a strategy, but it only concerns some countries. There is still Eastern Europe, the European part of the former USSR, where the problems are huge—much more complex than those confronted by the authors of the Marshall Plan."

Mr. Skubiszewski is now waiting for the treaty of association to be ratified by the EEC states that have not yet done so—"and unfortunately France is among them." Next, he expects "more dynamism: It is necessary to transcend the letter of the accord, to open up the Twelve's markets more." Last, the Polish minister wants the establishment of political cooperation with the EEC, "because even though we are not economically on a par with the Twelve, we can on the other hand take part fully in political cooperation. I do not see what difficulties there are to prevent Poland from taking part in certain consultations. It is starting, but it is slow!"

Because it has concentrated too much on its own problems, the Community has ignored what was happening next door. According to Mr. Skubiszewski, the Yugoslav crisis is "unquestionably Europe's failure." "This, because it was clear at least as far back as 1989, at the start of the upheavals in Poland and then in central Europe, that Yugoslavia would not remain outside these trends. With the death of Tito the difficulties in the functioning of Yugoslav federalism became visible. But Europe did nothing; it did not try to help Yugoslavia to find a solution to these problems."

Was there such a solution? "I do not know, but an attempt should at least have been made! But nothing was done; people started responding when the fighting had already started. If the threat to Slovenia was lifted, it was not thanks to Europe's activity, but because Belgrade so decided in order to be able to concentrate on Croatia. At the time of the fighting in Croatia people knew that Bosnia-Hercegovina's turn would come." And there, Skubiszewski stressed, "nothing, nothing was done."

Why was nothing done? "Because of a lack of imagination, because Europe was concentrating on its own problems. And, I would say, because of a lack of a sense of responsibility. The EEC is a very strong unit, and when you are strong you have responsibilities. But when the Yugoslav problem emerged Western Europe turned its back on it. The conference in The Hague and the activity of the Netherlands presidency were very positive, but came too late. There is such a thing as preventive diplomacy! But it was not used."

Like the Bulgarian president—who told us in November that he had tried in vain to alert his Western opposite numbers to what was taking shape in the Balkans, the Polish foreign minister expressed his anxieties to his Western counterparts. "But," he lamented, "it was just words... The West does not take advice from others. This is why I consider it important to have us take part in certain consultations, specifically those on security." The representatives of Central Europe have a special knowledge of the region—as former Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki showed, when the international community sought his advice on the former Yugoslavia.

"The West possesses a huge amount of knowledge, a vast wealth of information sources," Mr. Skubiszewski acknowledged. "But we have a practical knowledge of Balkan Europe, of Eastern Europe, that could be useful. I am not exaggerating. I am aware of our limitations... Poland does not presume to compare itself to France or Germany. But we can make a contribution."

Next the minister complained that the EEC is not even considering granting hope to candidate members. "We need an outlook," he pleaded, "and it would be a factor of stabilization in Central Europe. If we know that our EEC membership is just a matter of time, that changes

our outlook, both domestically and with respect to our neighbors!" For the present, however, "the Twelve are very skeptical about the date—not for membership, which would be understandable, but for the start of negotiations on membership! I think this date could be discussed; it seems to me that 1996 could be considered as a date for starting these negotiations... I want to be very realistic, but we would like at least to talk about the criteria for membership, the conditions, the requirements. Such discussions must be started; it would have a salutary effect on our internal economic policies."

In passing, Mr. Skubiszewski replied haughtily to the fiery Czech Prime Minister, Vaclav Klaus, who has recently been proclaiming that the Czech Republic no longer intends to concern itself with the "Visegrad group," a regional initiative that has grouped together Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia since 1990, in preparation for accession to the EEC. "You know," the Polish minister retorted, "candidates to EEC membership have to meet certain conditions. Neither the Czechs nor the Slovaks, nor the Poles, nor the Hungarians are ready. As for the ability to master the economic situation, it is more apparent in Poland. We do not mean by this that we will be the first to join the EEC. It is too soon, and in any case, what importance does it have? This is not the Olympic Games; there are no gold medals or silver medals..."

Government Approves Law To Issue Decrees

AU2201191793 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Jan 93 p 1

[Report by Igor Janke and Maria Nowak: "Bill on Decrees Ready"]

[Text] The government has approved the final version of a law that would empower it to issue decrees. The Tuesday [19 January] meeting of the Council of Ministers, at which this decision was made, was attended by the president and, for the first time, by the leaders of the parliamentary clubs of the government coalition.

The law would enable the government to issue decrees in matters pertaining to management over the economy and state assets, local government reform, public services, and the adaptation of Polish legislation to EC standards.

Jan Maria Rokita, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, said that the government would draft a list of decrees and a schedule for implementing them within two weeks.

The Small Constitution stipulates that the following topics cannot be the subject of any such decrees: constitutional amendments; presidential, parliamentary, or local government elections; the state budget; and civic and political liberties.

The law contains numerous safeguards to prevent the government from indulging in "legislative license." First, a decree would only become effective after being signed by the president. Second, a complaint about it could be made to the Constitutional Tribunal. Third, some decrees will have to be consulted with representatives of society, such as trade unions, beforehand. Fourth, the government would be constitutionally answerable to the Sejm for any violation of the law caused by a decree.

The law would be in effect during the Suchocka government's term of office.

Coalition Supports Granting Special Powers

LD2201222393 Warsaw PAP in English 1829 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 22—Leaders of the coalition parties and their parliamentary representations supported the plan of granting special powers to the government and formulated the criteria of evaluating the work of the ministers, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said after her meeting with the coalition representatives on Friday [22 January].

Referring to press reports that Ministers Zbigniew Dyka (justice) and Zygmunt Hortmanowicz (environment) are to be dismissed, the prime minister said that personnel changes would be introduced later. As for the two particular ministers, she added that their names were quoted by the press but "I did not mention names to the press."

Stefan Niesiolowski of the Christian-National Union (ZChN) expressed the opinion that "the meeting consolidated the coalition." The coalition members will now have four days to make comments on the disputed paragraph in the special powers which is believed to enable control the local governments.

Sejm To Examine Walesa Bill of Rights Draft

LD2201234193 Warsaw PAP in English 2214 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 22—The Sejm (lower house) on Friday [22 January] voted by 251 votes to 72 to refer Polish President Lech Walesa's draft charter of rights and freedoms to a Sejm extraordinary commission for further examination. At the same time, deputies rejected a draft economic and social charter sponsored by the post-Communist Democratic Left Alliance (SLD).

Before Friday's vote, presidential adviser Lech Falandysz said that the draft bill of rights and freedoms was intended to be a charter for all Poles. He rejected criticism from Catholic deputies that the charter left intact the separation of church and state, as specified in the Stalinist constitution of 1952. The president could not overturn that clause, said Falandysz, since it concerns "a dispute which will continue for a long time, on an issue which attracts radically different opinions."

The decision by the Sejm to reject the SLD-sponsored economic and social charter, by 190 votes to 139, was sharply criticised by SLD deputy Danuta Waniek. For some Sejm deputies, she claimed, the main defect of the charter was that it had come from the left. Others had simply glanced at the subheadings without analysing the contents.

Later, the SLD issued a declaration that the rejection of the social and economic charter "was further evidence of the complete disregard for the needs of society."

During question time, Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski told the chamber that proposals to create a national guard would be considered at the next meeting of the National Defence Committee, and that a special inter-ministerial team had been established to consider the proposals. The national guard units would replace existing military units currently attached to the Interior Ministry.

Walesa on Communism, Wachowski, Early Elections

WS2201133193 Warsaw SIS in Polish 1831 GMT 20 Jan 93

["Press Conference of the President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Walesa"—SIS headline]

[Text]

The President Does Not Favor the Communist Structure in Poland

Commenting on the statement by some opposition activists that he favors the communist structure in Poland, President Lech Walesa said that "those who think that they can gain popularity through demagogy are wrong." The president also said that he would like to fully explain our country's past. However, most of the documents in the Ministry of Internal Affairs have been destroyed.

There Is No Bolek

Referring to the attacks on himself and on Minister Wachowski, he said: "There is no Bolek, and do not believe in that."

Lech Walesa also said that he had held numerous talks with experts and lawyers, mainly of the Ministry of Justice, and they had advised him against trying the case. The president said that he had proof of his innocence. However, trying a case which would last at least two years would only help the opposition politicians ride the crest of the wave of popularity.

The Case of Minister Wachowski Will Soon Be Resolved

The president emphasized that the case of Minister Wachowski would soon be resolved. The prosecutors are already dealing with it. "One cannot slander with impunity the helmsman of the state, which is the Belweder [presidential residence] as an institution, not just Walesa", the president added.

Soon the President Will Deliver a Speech in the Sejm

Lech Walesa also said that soon, perhaps tomorrow, he would speak in the Sejm on two issues: on the issue of the bill of the Charter of Rights and Liberties, submitted by himself, and on the issue of granting the government extraordinary rights to issue decrees with the force of law. The president would also like to visit the Sejm more frequently and speak about various vital matters.

Earlier Election

Asked what he thinks about the idea of earlier presidential elections and the candidacy of Jan Olszewski, who has been increasingly proposed for the office by the opposition, he said: "I will win easily with this as well as other candidates". Lech Walesa is convinced that the society will vote for him because he is not struggling for his own career, but for the good of our country.

Social Outbreak

Asked what he will do to avert a social outbreak, which he himself had foretold, especially during yesterday's visit to the Office of the Council of Ministers at the session on granting the government the special rights, the president said that he had always stressed that he had solutions ready in the event of unforeseen circumstances. For the time being, however, he is confining himself to warnings.

The president also expressed a hope that the Sejm, the government, and the Belweder will pull themselves together and will not be talking about earlier elections.

Balcerowicz Comments on Economic Reform

WS2201134193 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0715 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Studio Interview with Leszek Balcerowicz, former minister of finance, by unidentified radio commentator; from the "Guest of Radio Zet" program—live]

[Text] [Commentator] Is the Polish economic reform being implemented in line with your concept?

[Balcerowicz] In terms of general directions, fortunately I do not observe any major diversions. There were two general directions. First, to overcome the disastrous hyperinflation that we experienced at the start, and to eliminate shortages. We have managed to do that. Nonetheless, the reduction of the still high inflation remains on the agenda. Second, to fundamentally change the economic system in order to make it more efficient, and to help raise the standard of living in Poland.

[Commentator] Has the Polish economic system already been changed?

[Balcerowicz] Not completely, but certain changes have been made. First of all, economic freedom has been increased through an increase of human initiative, the approval for good work, and the elimination of useless restrictions. Second, significant institutional changes have been achieved. Although much is yet to be done here, changes are in effect at enterprises, in the tax system, in the establishment of local self rule, in the reconstruction of the budget. I think that our economic system is much better than the one we had three years ago.

[Commentator] Are the changes not too slow now?

[Balcerowicz] This depends on what we are talking about. I think we should not reject what has already been accomplished in the field of liberalizing the economy. I note a certain threat resulting from attempts to change the situation that has been created in the past two years. This manifests itself in attempts to involve the state in interfering in something that I would call the sphere of incompetence. I am speaking about attempts to persuade the state to engage in petty unjustified intervention. At the same time, I can see the need to accelerate the deep institutional changes that in our conditions depend mostly on the state. First of all, I mean the so-called general privatization project that was defined, as we know, more than a year and a half ago. For political reasons, such as the work of the legislature and the government, the project is still waiting to be adopted. Meanwhile the Czechoslovak project, which was prepared at the same time, is already being implemented.

[Commentator] How do you estimate the project for the general privatization? Does it have any drawbacks?

[Balcerowicz] Generally, I think that advantages prevail over things that can only be revealed in practice. I am a strong advocate of this project as a means to accelerate change in large enterprises. It is important to understand that the value of this project is not that we will suddenly become rich through participation in privatization funds; this cannot happen. Its value lies in the fact that it will accelerate changes enabling enterprises to work more efficiently, and thus we will benefit as consumers and citizens.

[Commentator] Do politics hamper the economic reform?

[Balcerowicz] It hampers reform in two different ways. First, it creates instability, and political stability is one of the necessary conditions for making long term decisions. Second, it questions the stability of the currency, especially in recent weeks and months, while the budget issue is connected with it. Without a stabile currency, no long term development is possible. Frankly speaking, I am concerned about the stability of the currency against the backdrop of the Sejm debate on the budget and related decrees. Third, certain important decisions concerning the reform of the economic system depend on the political system. Here, again we are talking about so-called general privatization.

[Commentator] What can threaten the stability of the Polish currency?

[Balcerowicz] There is a direct dependence. I think that the stability of the Polish currency now greatly depends on the decisions of the Sejm, and specifically on the amount of the deficit. I believe that what has been suggested by the government sets a certain maximum, not a minimum. The violation of these limits calls into question one of the basic necessary conditions for economic development—a stable currency. I want to emphasize that there is no contradiction between a stable currency and development. On the contrary, long term development was observed only in countries which, among other things, had based their success on the foundation of a stable currency

[Commentator] The critics of the draft budget presented by Minister Osiatynski claim that this is a dead budget, a budget that has no economic reform program. Do you agree with them?

[Balcerowicz] In general, I do not. I think that the most important task in the economic reform field is the construction and reconstruction of institutions, not just general privatization, but also other significant institutional changes. One should expect two things from a budget. Its deficit cannot threaten the value of the currency; and its expenditure pattern should allow spending for infrastructure and other things that constitute investments. Although in our situation, when current expenditures grow—and this growth, as it turns out, cannot be restrained—there is little left for the truly important capital expenditures. Those who demand an active budget and want to be logical at the same time, should be firm advocates of measures aimed at the limitation of the current growth rate of expenditures.

[Commentator] The government of Ms. Suchocka has decided to ask the Sejm for decrees. Do you support these measures, do you think it is time for the Polish economy to be ruled by decree?

[Balcerowicz] In the situation where many decisions are yet to be made, well-crafted decrees would create a chance for reasonable acceleration. In this case, however, the decrees should also take care of difficult decisions.

[Commentator] What kinds of decisions?

[Balcerowicz] If possible, decisions based on the stabilization of the budget, for instance.

[Commentator] Why can we not use World Bank credits?

[Balcerowicz] You mean that the rate at which these credit are being used is lower than it was originally expected, not that they are not used at all. Research shows that this rate in Poland is higher than in neighboring countries. This does not satisfy us and there are various reasons for it. I think it also has to do with the process of educating potential borrowers. They are learning how to write credit applications because it is not like it was in the old times when one could receive credit

after simply describing his plans on a sheet of paper. The low rate is also related to the lack of complete stability of operational conditions, which retards the making of investment decisions and, what follows, applying for loans. I also think that use of credits depends to a great extent on public administration. Frequent changes at ministerial and highest administrative posts obstruct a quick absorption of credits.

[Commentator] Many people are irritated by the stance of international financial institutions including the World Bank and the IMF. Do you not think that these institutions are imposing their own views on economic reform in Poland?

[Commentator] I definitely do not think so, and consider this a total misunderstanding. The strategy was clear in our country as it was in other countries. We developed a program that had to serve Poland's long-term interests. It was our own program, later it was followed by a discussion stage, and then it came out that the strategic directions suggested by the Polish economic program roughly corresponded to what was suggested by IMF representatives on the basis of experience and theory.

[Commentator] Why is the deficit 5 percent in Poland, while the Italians enjoy a 9 percent deficit?

[Balcerowicz] This is very simple. First of all, Italians are now paying a huge price for their former neglect of limitation on deficit. One can say that the neglect of deficit is like the neglect of a very dangerous disease, such as cancer in its initial stages. Later, it grows like an avalanche and the treatment costs are much higher than in the initial stages. Second, the Italians have had, and now have a much lower inflation. If inflation is higher, the deficit should be smaller because the costs of loan services are much higher.

[Commentator] Why are taxes constantly growing in Poland?

[Balcerowicz] You must be speaking about the project for a tax rate increase from 40 to 50 per cent; this is the main example of an attempt to raise taxes. I must admit I have had, and I continue to have doubts about it. However, such attempts are first of all connected with the budget situation. Namely, the fact that there is strong pressure to increase expenditures and especially certain kinds of current expenditures. Without the elimination of this pressure we can hardly expect that the tendency to increase state income through taxation will cease to exist.

[Commentator] Are we witnessing the birth of capitalism or the death of socialism in contemporary Poland?

[Balcerowicz] I think that Poland, of all the states that have moved in the direction of the capitalist economy, has the most privatized economy. We have a great advantage in this area. Approximately 60 percent of the work force is employed by the private sector. It is estimated that about 50 percent of the gross national product is produced by the private sector. It is not due to quick privatization of large enterprises— we know that there are great delays on this issue— this is the result of a very dynamic, spontaneous growth of the private sector. The speedy development of medium enterprises, aided by the shrinkage of large enterprises, has led to a situation in which some former large enterprise property is being used by the growing private sector.

[Commentator] Are you not afraid that the private sector may someday become strangled by taxes?

[Balcerowicz] I would be very happy if taxes could be limited in the future, but this will make economic sense only when the growth of expenditures is halted. We can not simply divide the two sides of the budget.

[Commentator] For the past two years, or at least for the past year, there have been rumors in Poland about the devaluation of the Polish zloty. Why has this not been done?

[Balcerowicz] I think this is simply a matter of time. It is an important technical operation and I think the decision will be made when we know for sure that inflation in Poland is decreasing and that the reduction is steady.

[Commentator] Have you committed any mistakes?

[Balcerowicz] I generally think that we should have attempted to take a few more difficult steps, although I am not sure if it was possible then. One of these steps was the abolition of indexation of wages in the budget sphere against the wages in the economy. We tried to do it in 1990 but did not succeed; we also failed in 1991. It turned out that this also became a problem in 1992 and 1993.

[Commentator] What about the excessive income tax?

[Balcerowicz] It is notorious and not too popular, but I think that in an economy dominated by state-run enterprises—one in which there seems to be no adequate counterbalance to the trend of increasing wages—this tax is a bitter necessity. The following conclusion may be in order: Effective privatization should be carried out as soon as possible to eliminate the cause of this artificial mechanism.

[Commentator] How do you evaluate the economic policy of the current government?

[Balcerowicz] I think that in 1992, despite the pressure, there was no significant deviation from the general outlines introduced in the previous years. I have already mentioned these general outlines such as the trend towards stabilization, the liberalization of the economic system, and the transformation of this system into a market economy.

[Commentator] What will 1993 be like?

[Balcerowicz] I think the situation is as follows: Strong development structures have been created and this

became evident in 1992. These structures are capable of providing economic growth that is faster than the average growth in the West. The largest obstacle that can ruin the foundations of the country's development is macroeconomic instability which is expressed through the instability of currency, and this depends mostly on the Sejm.

[Commentator] Are we through with recession?

[Balcerowicz] We are the first state whose economy shows distinct development trends due to the new forces that I have already mentioned. In this respect, the decrease of production that has developed in recent years, just like in other countries, can be overcome providing that we will not waste this chance.

[Commentator] Have you preserved your 1989 optimism?

[Balcerowicz] I am only trying to look realistically at what is going on in the Polish economy.

[Commentator] So it is not so bad?

[Balcerowicz] I think it is not. Considering the conditions in which we started and our results as compared to those of other countries, we should look at our achievements as an accomplishment.

Olszewski Warns on Return to Communist System

LD2401220493 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] In the course of a program conference of the Movement for the Republic, its leader, Jan Olszewski, warned his supporters against communist recidivism in Poland. He called for opposition to the nomenklatura monopoly in the state structures. The Movement for the Republic, which according to its supporters numbers from 5,000 to 10,000 members and sympathizers, is preparing for its first congress, planned for June.

[Reporter] Jan Olszewski feels that Poland is going through a crisis of its state authorities. He criticized President Lech Walesa for departing from the policy of breakthrough, which has been replaced by unclear compromises and ever greater reliance on the left leg [reference to Walesa's concept of different legs to the political table, and a need for a strong left one]. In Olszewski's view, Poland is threatened with a return of communism, and the reshaping of a democratic state system into authoritarian power. Everyone who seeks authoritarian power contributes to the recidivism of communism.

[Begin Olszewski recording] There are no other tools for the implementation of this plan than the communist cadres amid the army generals, than the communist structures, the remnants of these structures, in the special services, that are in any case visibly strengthening themselves there of late; those state structures continue to represent this essence of the communist system. [end recording]

[Reporter] The Movement for the Republic leader critically addressed the accords from the roundtable in which he took part. He does not judge that this was a conspiracy, but in his view the communist nomenklatura then divided power between itself and part of the Solidarity elite. At a news conference, Jan Olszewski said that the completion of the process of vetting and decommunization is necessary. This has, according to him, exceptional significance for political stabilization in the country.

New Social Democratic Party Established

LD2201214893 Warsaw PAP in English 1816 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Szczecin, Jan. 22—A new political organisation, the Social Democratic Party of Poland, was registered by the Provincial Court in Warsaw on Friday [22 January], announced the party's leader Jan Bayer. The new party set up in Szczecin intends to be of a national character and does not want to have anything in common with the existing Social Democratic groups.

Polish Foreign Minister To Sign Cooperation Treaty

AU2501100693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0900 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Poland's minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Krzysztof Skubiszewski, arrived in Bucharest a few minutes ago. The Polish guest was met at Otopeni Airport by his Romanian counterpart, Mr. Teodor Melescanu. The two ministers are to begin official talks in about one hour.

The main goal of the visit is the signing of the treaty on friendly relations and cooperation between Romania and Poland.

Report Says Yugoslav Authorities Set Vessels Free

AU2201202293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1853 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/1/1993—The Romanian Ministry of Transport has announced that the Romanian sea ships *Vaslui, Jaristea,* and *Giurgiu 7,* detained in Yugoslav ports, have been set free today (Friday, January 22). Their commanders have announced the Romanian authorities that they have been handed the travelling documents and can continue their journey.

As for the other Romanian ships detained in the Yugoslav sector of the Danube, i.e. *Valea Alba, Isaccea 8,* and *Europa,* they are waiting for the confirmation of being applied the same regime.

Equally today, the Yugoslav ships detained in the Romanian port of Braila, in conformity with the UN embargo on Yugoslavia, have asked to be allowed to go to Reni, Ukraine, to be loaded.

More Serbia-Bound Ships Threaten To Burn Cargo

AU2401140593 Paris AFP in English 1246 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 24 (AFP)—Three Serbia-bound convoys carrying oil products on the Danube River have threatened to set their cargos on fire if not allowed to break a UN-imposed embargo on Serbia, authoritative sources in Bucharest said Sunday [24 January].

Three Serbian barges spotted on the river which separates Romania from Serbia in the north and Bulgaria in the south were following the example set by the tugboat Bihac which was stopped by Romanian authorities on December 20.

The Bihac set sail last Tuesday [19 January], allegedly returning to Ukraine, but later made a U-turn and sailed upstream threatening to set its cargo on fire if stopped by force.

The Bihac and its six oil barges were Sunday close to Turnu Magurele, southwest of Bucharest, on the Romanian-Bulgarian border.

The Serbian tugs Orasak, Velebit, Kajmakalan, pushing a total of 24 barges, refused to take orders by Romanian border guards to stop, authoritative sources said.

"They all threatened to set fire to their cargos if we tried to stop them," a Romanian official told AFP speaking on condition of anonymity.

If the Bihac passes, so will we, the captains of the three boats were quoted as telling authorities at Braila, eastern Romania, Saturday.

The boats were loaded in Ukraine and held back by Romanian authorities under a UN-embargo against Serbia and Montenegro which make up the rump Yugoslavia, a Western diplomat said.

Sanctions were imposed for rump Yugoslavia's support for Serbian nationalists fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia.

The diplomat said the precedent set by the Bihac was "creating a new problem."

Two UN commissions monitoring the implementation of UN sanctions in Romania have reportedly been informed of the attempt at breaching the embargo.

The captains of the four convoys said their destination was the Bulgarian river port of Vidin near the Serbian border.

But in Vidin the head of the port authority, Tsvetan Lozanov, told AFP Friday he did not know of any Serbian convoy heading for Vidin which was not equipped to receive oil shipments.

The Bihac was not expected to reach Serbian territory for at least another three days.

Iliescu Meets Iasi Officials, Holds Economic Talks

AU2401155693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1437 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/1/1993—Romanian President Ion Iliescu, who arrived in Iasi on 23 January to attend next-day's festivities marking 134 years since the union of the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, met in the afternoon of 23 January with top local administrators, members of parliament, managers of industrial and economic units, political party leaders, and other officials.

The dialogue was an opportunity for the speakers to raise a number of problems—economic, social, educational, and others—asking for government support and assistance from the presidency for their solution.

In his speech, President Iliescu emphasized the constructive spirit of the dialogue which was prevalent throughout. The president spoke at length about the crisis the country was in, about its causes and its seriousness, about its negative effects on the living standard, and about the actions apt to help overcome the problems.

He paid special attention to investments: Its halting was shown to have been counterproductive, to say nothing of the fact that people could simply not believe that such a thing could have happened. That is what comes, the president said, when structures are demolished overnight and nothing is put instead, it is the consequence of a shorter working week and of the wave of trade union claims in the early 1990, of returning the social capital. As investments ground to a halt, the Romanian head of state said, industrial production took a downward turn which negatively affected the country's economy.

President Ion Iliescu also said that the government was wrongly blamed for failing to take action for the revival of investments. He showed that the executive was working on a project to inject new life into this vital sector of the national economy. One idea, he said, is to complete what was left unfinished—in housing construction, in transports, water engineering, and others.

Economic recovery, slowing down the unemployment rate, the effort to solve other social problems, the imperative demand to give agriculture a new lease on life, assistance to small rural producers, maintaining state farms as models of modern agricultural management, and finding solutions to the mechanization of agriculture while adjusting to market economy mechanisms were as many subjects that Ion Iliescu referred to during the meeting.

The president ended by saying that the growth of the national economy should be a problem of concern to all political forces, the stress should fall on domestic factors, on the human factor first of all, and that courageous action was essential to rethink the industrial model and modernize the Romanian industry to make it competitive.

A group of about 40 people, according to the police, chanted anticommunist and antipresidential slogans outside the building where the meeting was held.

A press conference ended the meeting.

Attends Union Anniversary Ceremonies

AU2401155793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1513 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/1/1993— The festivities in the City of Iasi to mark 134 years since the union of the Romanian principalities were attended by President Ion Iliescu and leading political, cultural, and scientific personalities, giving added importance to the patriotic act of 24 January 1859, to which the unionists of Iasi had fully contributed.

On Sunday, 24 January, Ion Iliescu attended an official ceremony at Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza's memorial in Union Square. The prince, whose single election in both principalities achieved the union in 1859, has since been a symbol of the Romanian people's age-old dream and fight for state unity and independence. A wreath was laid by President Iliescu at his memorial where other officials and leaders of local and central institutions also laid their floral tributes.

A high-level delegation of the Republic of Moldova led by Speaker of Parliament Alexandru Mosanu also laid a wreath.

A moving episode was recorded during the festivities, when President Iliescu and the Speaker of Moldova's Parliament Alexandru Mosanu waved to the public from the balcony of the Traian restaurant and shook hands in a symbolic gesture. The crowd chanted "Union, union." The festivities in Union Square ended in a big "union round dance," in which officials and hundreds of onlookers joined hands.

The next episode was at Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza's grave in the Three Hierarchs' Church, where the Romanian head of state laid another wreath. Before that he attended a memorial service for all unionist militants whose dream was an independent country for all Romanians.

As President Iliescu entered the churchyard, a group of people carrying portraits of Romania's deposed monarch Michael I began to chant antipresidential slogans. Eventually, the group was scattered not by order-keeping forces, but by the hundreds of people who had come to celebrate the union.

On the same day, the local Palace of Culture's Hall of Princes hosted a symposium on the union of the principalities. The symposium was attended by President Iliescu, Alexandru Mosanu, speaker of Moldova's Parliament, Vasile Nedelciuc, chairman of the Moldovan Parliament's Foreign Relations Commission, local leaders of political parties, members of the Romanian Academy, professors, representatives of large local economic companies and cultural institutions, and guests from other counties.

Taking the floor, President Iliescu drew a parallel between the 1859 events and now, showing that petty, group interests should be overcome and that one idea had always been true, namely that all Romanians are brothers, which should remain the source of all historical action.

Addresses Iasi Symposium

AU2401183793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1726 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/1/1993—"Here and now we commemorate the wonderful, unforgettable and ever-lasting episode of the union of the Romanian principalities. We do it with the same sense of pride and

dignity that was the hallmark of those who achieved it, but also with a burning desire to hand down—undiminished—to our followers the legacy we received and keep alive a hope that was and will always be dear to Romanians: A united, free, and sovereign Romania," the president of Romania, Ion Iliescu, told a symposium in the northeastern city of Iasi on 24 January in observance of the union of the Romanian principalities 134 years ago.

"The 24 January 1859 union was the climax of a mass movement," President Ion Iliescu said. "It enjoyed broad support and proved a collective sense of patriotism which belittled imperial interests and aroused enthusiasm in the camp of progressive forces. The European press of the time spoke about 'a truly national manifestation' that dispelled all doubts as to what the Romanians did wish. Overturning—by the single election (of Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza) solution—'the half-union' offered by the great European chancellories, as Romanian historian Alexandru Xenopol rightly showed, the Romanians put Europe before an irreversible historic political fact. In 1859 Romania became a European reality.

"The union of 24 January 1859 and its beneficial effects in the life of the country—economic, social, and political ones—put Romania forever on the map of Europe as a factor of stability, equilibrium, and progress," President Iliescu went on.

"The national state that was formed through the union of 24 January 1859 and the accomplishments of Alexandru Ioan Cuza's rule are a true lesson of Romanian history, a lesson as much for the present as for the future. By learning and understanding it and by properly referring it to the present internal and external factors, this lesson will certainly make the new way we have taken much easier.

"Here, in the city of Iasi, which played an essential role in the movement that led to the 24 January 1859 act, and now, on this anniversary day, we bow before the political wisdom of the distinguished scholar Mihail Kogalniceanu. He realized and explicitly stated the fact that the union implied sacrificing the political role of the city of Iasi, capital of the Principality of Moldavia, to the higher national interest of the union. That is why that sacrifice was worth making in exchange for consecrating Iasi as a powerful center of Romanian science and culture, which actually happened.

"Following the example of our forerunners, raising above partisan interests and ambitions, and putting the interests of the country above all, we can make from our action today a historic act for the coming generations," President Iliescu said. In order to be able to do that, we must strongly believe in "that key in the absence of which the national edifice would fall apart"—our unity in thought as well as in deed, for the good and the future of the country.

The symposium was also addressed by Alexandru Mosanu, Speaker of Moldova's Parliament, who answered an invitation to attend the Iasi celebrations of the 1859 union of the Romanian principalities.

Druc Makes Statement on Reunification With Moldova

AU2401180693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1557 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/1/1993—"As long as I lead the National Council of Reunification, I will work to persuade pragmatic people—who will and can do something for the country to return to its natural borders—to act," Mircea Druc told the Romanian news agency ROMPRES in an exclusive interview during a festivity arranged by the National Council of Reunification at its head office in Bucharest.

The event celebrated 134 years since the union of the principalities [Moldavia and Wallachia] and one year since the council was founded.

"There is cooperation and there are actions toward reunification taken by Romania's Presidency, Parliament, and government, but the National Council of Reunification rounds them off, and adds shades to colors," Mr. Druc said. About the antiunionist forces, in his opinion they are "Ukraine, Russia, the imperialist Soviet forces and the economic mafia."

On the four Moldovan political prisoners detained by the authorities of the self-styled Dniester Republic, Mircea Druc said: "A paradox has developed in their respect: Moldovans are put on trial according to Soviet law for defending the interests of their country, the Republic of Moldova."

Foreign Ministry Board Examines Ukraine Relations

AU2201201393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1921 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/1/1993—The Consultative Board of the Foreign Ministry had a meeting Friday, January 22, to examine aspects concerning Romania's ties with Ukraine, starting from a document on "Evaluations, Trends and Prospects" drafted by experts of the said ministry.

During the debates it became apparent that Romania and Ukraine were sharing certain views on the boosting of their links on a political, economic and cultural plane, while seeking solutions to preserve the ethnic, cultural, and religious traits of the Romanians living in Ukraine.

The meeting was presided by Teodor Melescanu, minister of state, minister of foreign affairs.

Dijmarescu Discusses Council of Europe Association

AU2201141293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1111 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/1/1993—Vice-president of Romanian Senate Eugen Dijmarescu, deputy chairman of the National Salvation Front, refers in an interview with

daily MERIDIAN to the stage of Romania's adhesion to the Council of Europe as member with full rights. Dijmarescu, who had attended the latest two sessions of the Council of Europe's Political Commission, in December 1992 and January 1993, signals the existence of points on which some member countries still have objections as regards Romania and which might be invoked in order to influence the decision regarding the adhesion. Dijmarescu insists that the Romanian Government should urgently convey to the Council of Europe bodies a more consistent document regarding the election results in Romania, meaning the way how the election proceeded and their recognition by all political formations and by observers alike.

Dijmarescu says one of the matters on which criticism was expressed is the situation of national minorities in Romania. He assesses that "by a far more substantive effort in Romania, one should compare the minorities' legislation and rights in other Council of Europe states with those in Romania. I do not believe the Romania departs more flagrantly from human rights than others do."

Dijmarescu also points out that some laws passed in Romania's Parliament are misunderstood abroad, considering that action should be taken on this line as well, especially to the end of clearing out some of their provisions (with direct reference to the law of the judiciary organization, the law of property, the legislation of foreign investments).

As regards the prospects of Romania's admission to the Council of Europe, Dijmarescu is not sure "all accusations will be possibly dismissed only by the words of those who will be on the Romanian delegation to the Council of Europe," considering the "slowness of the parliamentary action of so far."

UDMR Wants To Mediate Between Nation, Hungary

AU2201202393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1709 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/1/1993—"The Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [UDMR] proposes that the legal bodies representing the Magyars in the Carpathian basin hold a general meeting, a forum, in Strasbourg, with a view to boost the democratic forces in Europe to solve the situation of the Hungarian minority."

The proposal is part of a document making an inventory of the decisions adopted by the third congress of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, UDMR, sent to ROMPRES Friday, January 22.

The said document also mentions that UDMR asks the U.S. Congress to grant the most-favoured-nation clause to Romania, although "the Romanian Government has failed to meet the requirements for the granting of this status."

On another line of thought, UDMR is willing to take part in the drafting of the treaty to be concluded by Romania and Hungary "as a well-meaning mediator," shows the document.

Official Says 'Reform' Can No Longer Be Reverted

AU2501110893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0952 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Buchar est ROMPRES, 25/1/1993—In an interview granted to the ECONOMISTUL [THE ECONOMIST] biweekly, Misu Negritoiu, minister of state and president of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform, considers that "for the completion of the reform, a social and a political pact should be made in Romania, leaving aside partial interests and personal disputes."

Because the reform "is not a society-isolated system," it has to be understood "as a supreme national interest," the reform and the transition gaining, in his opinion, no political content.

During the same interview, Misu Negritoiu expressed his "conviction that reform in Romania can no longer be reverted." In that respect, state involvement—as announced in the program of the Nicolae Vacaroiu cabinet—"does not mean a return to dirigism [orders from state power], to economic centralization, but rather an increased concern over the administration of the state [owned] sector." Special stress is laid, according to the policy of the new government, upon the restructuring of industry, which aims "to strengthen the country's economy, in general, and not each sector in part," by staying into competition and implicitly by encouraging only the "performant" ones [those performing well].

Spiroiu Concludes Visit to Israel, Arrives Home

AU2401181793 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1555 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 24/1/1993—A Romanian military delegation led by Defense Minister Lieutenant-General Niculae Spiroiu has returned to Bucharest from an official visit to Israel at the invitation of Yitzhaq Rabin, Israel's prime minister and defense minister, a press release from Romania's Ministry of National Defense shows.

The Romanian military delegation held talks with Yitzhaq Rabin and other political and military executives in the Defense Ministry in order to get information and evaluate the development potential of the relations between the two armies. Military and defense industrial units were visited.

In statements during the dialogue and contacts on that occasion, the press release says, the Israeli side stressed the special character its relations with Romania continued to have as a result of a long relationship.

Izetbegovic Threatens Withdrawal From Talks

AU2501161093 Paris AFP in English 1553 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, Jan 25 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic said Monday [25 January] that peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina had made no headway and that he might withdraw if there was no progress in the coming days.

Izetbegovic told a news conference that the five-month-old talks had "betrayed" the principle of refusing to legitimise gains made by the "ethnic cleansing" campaign waged by Bosnian Serbs.

"I don't see any progress," the leader of the Moslem-led Bosnian Government said of the discussions to end the nine-month-old conflict embroiling Bosnian Serbs, Moslems and Croats.

"We are remaining at the negotiations as long as we see the conference may help calm the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and we can achieve the aims we are talking about," he said.

"If we see the conference does not serve this purpose we will withdraw from the conference," Izetbegovic said. Pressed on his timeframe for such a move he said: "In any case we are speaking of days."

"The question is how long the citizens of Sarajevo can wait for this conference to be sucessful," the Bosnian leader said in a reference to the capital besieged and shelled by the Serbs.

Izetbegovic said the military situation was worsening and that Serbian tanks and troops were heading from Serbia and Montenegro toward the Bosnian town of Rudo where Moslem troops had launched an offensive.

He strongly denied Serbian allegations that Moslem troops had crossed the Drina into Serbian territory.

Izetbegovic said the fighting between Croats and Serbs in Croatia was having a "negative effect" on the talks here that focused on provincial borders for Bosnia after agreement by all parties to keep a unified state.

The president refused to consider as progress the acceptance by the Bosnian Serbs of the mediators' nine-point plan for a weak central government and 10 provinces, with each community controlling three and Sarajevo kept neutral.

He said the Serbs had made it clear in public comments that they still clung to their dream of a Serbian state within Bosnia. "Therefore, I don't see very much in their acceptance of the nine points."

Izetbegovic added that no headway had been made on the map proposed by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, cochairmen of the talks sponsored by the United Nations and the European Community.

He said Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic had raised 12 to 15 objections to the map "and none of them were acceptable to us."

"We could not possibly accept, even temporarily, that certain areas of Bosnia-Hercegovia be under the control of the army forces which actually conducted ethnic cleansing," Izetbegovic said.

Izetbegovic Defends Croatian Attacks on Krajina

LD2301144193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1411 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic stated today upon his arrival in Geneva that he approved of attacks launched yesterday by Croatian forces on positions in southern Croatia held by the Serbs, AFP reported. "Croatia has the right to restore sovereignty on its territory," Izetbegovic stressed. At the same time he added that sporadic clashes between Croats and Muslims in Bosnia would die down.

'Hundreds' Killed in Croat, Moslem Fighting

LD2301203293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2007 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Gornji Vakuf, Jan 23 (TANJUG)—Fighting continues unabated on Saturday [23 January] between Bosnia's Croats and Moslems in the central Bosnian town of Gornji Vakuf despite UNPROFOR—and EC—brokered ceasefire talks on Friday.

Moslem-controlled Bosnian Radio accused Croatia's troops and Bosnian Croat forces of continuing on Saturday their artillery attack on Gornji Vakuf. It added that the Croatian forces used armoured-mechanized units and heavy artillery.

The radio reported "hundreds of killed, their bodies scattered on nearby hills."

It called the Croatian forces (Moslems' allies until recently) "fascist formations," which carried symbols like 'swastikas, skulls, and the letter "U," which was the symbol of the Ustashi World War II fascist formations, which included both Croats and Moslems.

The radio asserted that Croatian forces fired at least 2,000 shells on Gornji Vakuf on Friday.

The Croatian Radio on Saturday reported that Moslem forces were creating tension in the central Bosnian town of Novi Travnik, populated by Croats and Moslems.

It said that the Moslem forces took hold of all the approaches to the town, while restricting the movements of Bosnian Croat soldiers inside the town.

The Sarajevo-based UNPROFOR H.Q. confirmed that the UNPROFOR- and EC-brokered ceasefire talks on Friday had failed.

At the ceasefire talks, the Moslem and Croat sides agreed that an interposition line between them would be held by UNPROFOR—said the UNPROFOR H.Q. in its announcement.

The announcement added that a fresh round of ceasefire talks on Saturday would be mediated by French General Philippe Morillon, UNPROFOR commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Army, HVO Agree on Cease-Fire

LD2401183893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Report by Gornji Vakuf]

[Excerpt] An agreement has been reached to end the clashes between the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and formations of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. The agreement to cease fire was reached at 1300. The ceasefire will come into effect at 1800. All units that are not based in Gornji Vakuf's territory must withdraw by 1600 tomorrow. It has also been agreed that a list of prisoners of war be submitted to the International Red Cross by 1200 on 26 January. [passage omitted]

Muslims Attack Croatian Village

LD2401101493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0909 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Gornji Vakuf, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Muslim armed forces yesterday carried out a powerful attack on the Croatian village of Bistrica near Gornji Vakuf from the nearby hills, Croatian Radio reported late last night. Having taken control of the village Muslim, extremists, the radio said, set fire to all Croatian houses and industrial installations, as well as to a convent, which burned down completely. [passage omitted]

Fighting Around Bugojno Reported

LD2401100893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0914 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Serb military intelligence sources have reported that Muslim units from Bugojno burnt down the Croatian village of Ludari, between Bugojno and Novi Travnik, and the village of Causlije, expelling the Croatian population. While Muslims are burning down the Croatian villages around Bugojno, in Bugojno itself the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] is slowly taking control of the city. Muslim armed units in Bugojno were given an ultimatum to hand over their arms. The HVO also took control of Bugojno Radio which is now transmitting news from Croatian Radio instead of Bosnian Radio.

Clashes Reportedly Threaten Cease-Fire

LD2401131493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1239 GMT 24 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, January 24 (TANJUG)—The intolerance between Moslems and Croats in the Central Bosnian city of Bugojno turned into an open armed conflict on Sunday [24 January], TANJUG learned from Serb military intelligence sources.

Moslem units burned down two Croat villages near Bugojno-Ludari and Causlije. The Croat villagers were banished and the property that was not destroyed in the fire was stolen.

While Moslems are burning Croat villages around Bugojno, the Army of Bosnian Croats—the Croatian Defence Council—is taking over power in the city itself. Armed Moslem units have been given an ultimatum to surrender their arms.

The new clash between the former allies in their battle against the Serbs is threatening the third Moslem-Croat ceasefire, which was agreed on Saturday through the mediation of United Nations (UN) peace forces and European Community (EC) observers in Gornji Vakuf (Central Bosnia), where the former allies have been engaged in combat for over 10 days.

The Bosnian police, loyal to Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, said on Sunday that the Moslem-Croat alliance had been broken also in some other parts of Central Bosnia and that the clashes in Gornji Vakuf threatened to spread.

After the third ceasefire was signed, Moslem armed forces launched a strong attack from neighbouring hills on the Croat village of Bistrica near Gornji Vakuf, Croatian Radio reported late on Saturday night. After the village was taken, Moslem extremists burned down all Croat houses and a nearby convent, the radio said.

The third Moslem-Croat ceasefire should become effective at noon on Sunday, Bosnian Radio said.

The radio said that mediators will give up their efforts to end the fighting between the two sides if this third ceasefire does not hold.

Moslems and Croats are fighting over places in Central Bosnia which are to be in a joint Moslem-Croat province in the map proposed at the talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Geneva. The Croats are the only ones so far who have given approval in principle to the map, but the fighting shows that they actually wish to create a different situation in the field.

Croat Leader on Ending Clashes

LD2401194093 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Excerpt] What will the new Bosnia look like? The constitutional organization has been accepted, and the map was discussed today. Muslims now have objections to the borders of some Croatian provinces. Here is Jozo Curic from Geneva:

[Curic] The Geneva conference went on marked by Serbian threats and Croatian military actions. The main topic is still the maps, and although nothing was signed, some progress has been made.

[Begin Mate Boban recording] (?We did not want) there to be any problems between the Muslim and Croatian nations concerning the borders of the provinces in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In the end, we will probably make a statement that we will read and send to both nations. At the same time, we agreed to immediately issue orders prohibiting any kind of clashes between the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army, as the Muslim Army, and the Croatian Defense Council, as the Army of the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Army Fears 'Final Showdown'

LD2401165193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Relations between the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] remain extremely complex. [passage omitted]

The First Mostar Brigade of Bosnia-Hercegovina's Army has issued a public statement regarding relations between Croats and Muslims. The statement recalls the joint struggle and alliance, which was based on mutual respect and trust, and notes with regret that such relations have been seriously impaired. A number of examples that hinder cooperation are cited, such as the forcible expulsion of Bosnia-Hercegovina soldiers from abandoned apartments, the arrest and maltreatment of Bosnia-Hercegovina soldiers, blocking convoys, stealing food and ammunition aid, and the general show of force by the HVO. Considering all this, it is difficult not to feel, the statement says, that a final showdown between the HVO and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army is being prepared. It is enough to find a cause, and a conflict will break out, as has been proved by the conflict in Gornji Vakuf. Members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army did all they could to prevent the conflict there and solve all problems in a peaceful way and with mutual respect, the statement concludes.

Moslem Fighters Break Encirclement at Gorazde

LD2401000393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] In an outstandingly successful action, Gorazde fighters completely destroyed the chetnik encirclement and managed to take control of two important strategic routes: the Ustipraca-Rudo route—the point where the River Lim meets the river Drina—and the Ustipraca-Visegrad route.

A group of 24 chetniks, including an officer of the former Yugoslav People's Army was captured in the action, while a significant number of chetniks were killed. The brave defenders of Gorazde captured a considerable amount of weapons, ammunition, and other equipment.

Croats Shell Serbs; Moslems Attack Near Sarajevo

LD2301220393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2130 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Bileca, January 23 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Army shelled Nevesinje, a city in the Serb region of east Hercegovina, on Saturday [23 January] around 1625 local time from the positions at the city of Mostar.

The Serb Army sources in Bileca (east Hercegovina) said the Croatian forces shelled solely civilian targets. There were no reports available on possible casualties.

The Croatian forces shelled the Serb positions with mortars and artillery pieces along the entire length of the Mostar-Nevesinje front, these sources said and noted that the Serb side responded.

At the same time, the Bosnian Moslem forces on Saturday [23 January] afternoon used all means available to attack the Serb settlement of Rajlovac, near Sarajevo. Several civilan installations were set on fire, as set out.

The early evening hours on Saturday saw an attack by the Moslem forces with mortars on the Serb Grbavica Sarajevo section. As many as 30 shells fell on Grbavica accompanied by sniper fire, which shot dead one woman and one heavily wounded. The Serb villages of Lokanj and Bare, some 20 km north of the city of Zvornik (eastern Bosnia), were also the targets of Moslem artillery attacks. The defenders of the Serb Zvornik municipality, according Bosnian Serb military sources, returned fire totally destroying the Moslem ammunition depot in the neighboring village of Teocare.

The fighting, as set out, stopped after that, but new regrouping of Moslem forces was observed.

'Dozens' of Citizens Said Dying Daily

LD2401153093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] The Bosnia-Hercegovina headquarters for health and social care has announced that the occupied area of Srebrenica, Gorazde, Medvedje, Kamenica, [name indistinct], and Konjevic Polje has practically run out of food, medicine, and bandages. Dozens of citizens are dying everyday from hunger, illness, and cold; most of them are children under 14.

Fighting Continues in Rudo; 'Many Dead,' Wounded

AU2401153893 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Report by Ratomir Milovic]

[Text] Expecting help to arrive from somewhere, the fighters of the Serbian commune of Rudo have been engaged in spasmodic fighting with more numerous Muslims forces for four days. Muslim forces came from

the banks of the Drina River. Fierce fighting is being waged. The frontline shifted several kilometers back and forth during the day. There are many dead and wounded. The entire civilian population in Rudo, including women, was issued arms. Evacuation of the population was stopped and the residents of Rudo are prepared to die rather than allow Jihad fighters to take Rudo. This is the last obstacle for Muslims before establishing a link between Gorazde and Priboj.

'Chetniks' Reportedly 'Losing Morale'

LD2401202693 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] We will begin this evening's round-up of news from the battlefronts with (?a report from the press) center of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army that says:

Chaos and hopelessness have taken root among the aggressor's units in the region of Strmica and Strgacina in Rudo municipality. Groups of chetniks are abandoning defense lines, are refusing to hold their positions, and are fighting their superiors. The press center of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army has learned that chetniks started losing morale after an action by Bosnia-Hercegovina fighters in the region between Visegrad and Rudo, when our fighters liberated 20 km of territory, killed 30 and captured 24 chetniks, and seized large quantities of arms and artillery pieces.

Artillery Attack in Mostar Breaks 40-Day Truce

LD2201151493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Report by Slavko Rako for Croatian Radio from Mostar]

[Text] In an artillery attack on Mostar this morning, 13 people were wounded, three of them seriously. From 1003, when the first grenade hit Mostar after more than 40 days of truce, until 1200, all parts of the town were exposed to heavy tank and howitzer shelling. The Serb aggressor opened fire from its stronghold in Podvelezje.

We have learned from the defense department of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosnia that a Dutch UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] officer was wounded when a UNPROFOR vehicle hit a landmine. The incident took place on the Stolac-Bileca road, 3 km from the separation line on the territory under the control of the Serb forces. The UNPROFOR vehicles were returning from Stolac where the blue helmets [UN troops] mediated in talks between members of the HVO and the Serb side regarding an exchange of POW's.

Muslim Attacks Against Serbs Reviewed

LD2401232993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2302 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 24 (TANJUG)—Fighting gained momentum on the battlefronts in Bosnia-Hercegovina on Sunday [24 January], the heaviest being in the Lim River valley, eastern Bosnia, where according to Bosnian Serb sources, strong Moslem forces continued their attacks for the fourth day.

The Moslem forces' offensive toward Rudo, Visegrad, Skelani and Bratunnn places in eastern Bosnia, were in full swing, TANJUG correspondent was told by the Bosnian Serb military sources.

The sources said the aim of Moslem attacks was to effect a breakthrough to Rudo, a town on the very border with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), so as to pose a threat from the surrounding promontories to its territory around the city of Priboj.

The same sources said 11 members of the Bosnian Serb forces were killed and 30 wounded in the Moslem offensive on Rudo and Visegrad.

The sources also said more than 150 were killed and twice as many wounded on the Moslem side, as well as several score captured.

The Moslem formations launched an all-out assault from Srebrenica along the entire line of defense of the Serb municipality of Skelani on Sunday afternoon, the sources said.

The area of the village of Jezero, near the Bajina Basta power plant on the Drina River at Perucac, saw heavy fighting throughout the day on Sunday. The river constitutes the border with Bosnia-Hercegovina and the F.R.Y. at this particular point.

The Moslem forces, which controlled important strategic points on the left river bank as a result of last week's offensive threatening the security of the power plant and the population, however, suffered in the fighting on Sunday large losses in men, equipment and arms. The Serb forces regained a larger portion of the territory, claim the Bosnian Serb military sources.

TANJUG correspondent in Doboj, a city in northern Bosnia, reported, citing local Serb military sources, that the Moslem forces carried out a strong mortar attack on the Serb positions around the city on Sunday morning.

The Moslem formations, according to Serb military sources in Doboj, opened occasional mortar and infantry fire on the Serb positions in the area of Maglaj, northern Bosnia, and used, as the sources said, the 'Malyutka' guided missiles.

On the Sarajevo battlefront, the TANJUG correspondent in Pale reported, Moslem formations opened artillery fire on the Serb settlements of Nedzarici and Vogosca from Mt. Igman, southwest of Sarajevo.

Sarajevo 'Relatively Peaceful' After Heavy Fighting

LD2501093493 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0905 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Following a night of heavy shelling, the Bosnian capital Sarajevo is reporting a relatively peaceful morning. In yesterday's shelling, however, the hardest hit was the Old Town district, with one of the shells hitting the area near the Bosnian parliament building. Shooting was also reported in the New Town district.

Fighting Throughout the Country Summarized

AU2501104693

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian on 25 January carries in its regular 15-minute newscast several reports on the fighting in the country.

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "last night and this morning have been marked by new Chetnik attacks. Their heavy artillery is constantly in action, particularly howitzers stationed in the farming complex in Modrica. Our defense positions in Pozarike, Vida, and Novalici are under constant fire."

The Brcko Press Center reports that "last night was one of the rare ones on this front that passed without intensive aggressor's attacks. The defense positions in Licki Most, Rijeke, Dizdarusa and Omerbegovaca were occasionally shelled. The aggressor used antiaircraft machine guns and Praga from his position in the Brcko railway station. Dubravice, Donje, and Vranovaca were shelled with 82-mm mortars."

An unidentified correspondent reports from Tesanj on a poor line that "the destruction of this region continues regardless of the Geneva talks."

Reporting from Konjic, Borka Rudic says that "according to the information we have received from the headquarters of the Bosnia- Hercegovina Army and the Herceg Stjepan Brigade of the Croatian Defense Council, the Chetniks and the Serbian-Montenegrin aggressor carried out a short artillery attack on the town just after 2030 last night from their strongholds in the villages of Borci and Bijela."

In his report from Tuzla, an unidentified correspondent from Tuzla says that "the Chetniks intensified their attacks overnight. The defense lines on the Mount Majevica front came under attack from mortars, antiaircraft guns and infantry weapons. Kalesija was somewhat quieter." He says that "during the night, flights by enemy helicopters were registered. As usual, groups of helicopters flew in several directions but mostly from (?Sekovici) to Mount Majevica. There is increased dissatisfaction in the eroding Chetnik stronghold in Ozren. In chaos and panic, the Ozren Chetniks have again been involved in clashes as they are dissatisfied with the politics of the Chetnik commune of Pale, but also with the other Chetnik commune of Banja Luka."

Irfan Calo reports from Sarajevo that "the worst situation this morning is in Sedrenik, which has been fiercely shelled since morning from howitzers. The aggressor is occasionally shelling Gazin Han and Vratnik. At the moment, Centar, Novo Sarajevo, and Novi Grad are quiet, but we still have to warn the citizens to be wary of the snipers."

The Vogosca Information center reports that "the Chetnik criminals are not giving up their attempts to break through onto the free territory. According to the commander of the Vogosca defense headquarters, under whose control our fighters had great victories in Zuc and points 850 and 772, last night the Chetniks attempted several infantry attacks during which they used chemical agents. This morning, the Chetniks used 155-mm howitzers, 120-mm mortars, tanks and recoilless guns from their positions in Blagovac to pound Kobilja Glava." She says that "the Chetniks from Serbia are continuing to loot equipment from Vogosca factories, and are taking them away to Serbia. We have found out from reliable sources that clashes between imported and local Chetniks are becoming increasingly frequent, as the latter are trying to prevent the former from looting."

Croatian Army Moves Into Konavle, Capljina, Stolac

LD2501105793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1045 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Bileca, January 25 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Army is bringing in new troops to Hercegovina, particularly to the region of Konavle (Dubrovnik hinterland) and the front around Capljina and Stolac, Bosnian Serb military sources said on Monday [25 January], adding that Croatian military activities have also stepped up.

Croatian forces opened heavy artillery fire on Serbian positions in Popovo Polje and Ljubinja municipality (eastern Hercegovina) in the night between Sunday and Monday, said a statement by the Hercegovina Corps headquarters in Bileca.

The same source said Croats shelled Serb positions with 152mm- cannon at the foothill of Mt. Velez (above Mostar), adding that Serbs fired back.

Moslems are concentrating their forces in the regions of Konjic and Grepko in northern Hercegovina and [place name indistinct] Gorazde in eastern Bosnia, the statement said.

Croat-Serb Fighting Renewed in Krajina Region

UN Force Members Injured in Attack

LD2201222093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2136 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 22 (TANJUG)—Four Kenyan soldiers in the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) were wounded near the Peruca hydroelectric power plant on Friday [22 January] when the Croatian Armed Forces attacked the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), said the RSK news agency ISKRA.

The Army of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia on Friday morning attacked southern parts of RSK, which is a United Nations Protected Area (UNPA).

The RSK, which Serbs proclaimed in 1991 within the administrative borders of Croatia where they are the majority population, has been an UNPA since last year.

ISKRA learned that, after the Croatian attack, a detachment of Kenyan peace-keepers sought protection among Serbian soldiers.

RSK Foreign Minister Slobodan Jarcevic informed the Kenyan Government about Friday's attack.

Jarcevic sent another letter to the French Government since French soldiers in UNPROFOR were also wounded in Friday's attack, ISKRA said.

The RSK Government had previously said on Friday that U.N. peacekeepers, who also sustained casualties and technical losses, were fighting against the Croatian aggression together with the defenders of Krajina.

Artillery Shells UN Positions

LD2301123593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1201 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—Early this morning Croatian artillery continued shelling the UN Protection Force units based in Rovanjska in the area of the Maslenica straits, the ISKRA news agency reported. Croatian artillery shells fired from the wider region of Seline, five kilometers northwest of the destroyed Maslenica bridge, have threatened positions of Krajina defenders, the report says. ISKRA quoted estimates by the Serb defenders that the attack represents a preparation of the Croatian forces for yet another attempt to carry out an armored and infantry incursion along the former Adriatic motorway.

Serbs Bre[illegible]UN Warehouses

LD2301201793 Zagr[illegible]TV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] HINA reports that in many areas in the Republic of Croatia under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] protection, Serbs forcibly entered arms warehouses protected by UNPROFOR and stole weapons, according to various sources in the field. An UNPROFOR commander in Zagreb confirmed this news this afternoon. He stressed that UNPROFOR members tried to prevent this, but in most cases failed. At the same time, the local Serb authorities are trying to carry out a general mobilization.

Serb Policemen Reportedly Mutilated

LD2301224193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2205 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 23 (TANJUG)—Identification was completed of the bodies of 21 policemen of the Republic of Serb Krajina whom Croatian terrorists ambushed and killed or wounded on Friday [22 January] and then conducted acts of bestiality on them by cutting off their heads, removing eyes from the sockets, severing extremities, the Krajina news agency ISKRA reported.

The massacre, at one of the passes on Mt. Velebit near the town of Gracac, was carried out before the very eyes of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] French battalion, who did not interfere or try to prevent the crime, the agency claimed.

The atmosphere in Gracac was one of disbelief, rage and sorrow over the brutalities committed on the bodies of the wounded and dead Serb policemen, including one woman, a nurse.

The units of the Krajina Serbs on Saturday restored control of the Mt. Velebit pass Mali Halan, where the crime was committed.

The Serb units surrounded the remainder of the Croatian terrorist group, including Ustashas from abroad, who underwent training in special terrorist centers.

Attacks Continue 24 Jan

LD2401115593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—According to a report received from the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] Defense Ministry carried by ISKRA, Croatian forces launched an artillery attack in the direction of Benkovac and Obrovac from the direction of Zemunik at 0730. "At about 1600 yesterday, Croatia made a request for a cease-fire via the UN Protection Forces. Talks on the cease-fire are scheduled for 1000 today, RSK Defense Minister Colonel Spanovic told the ISKRA agency over the telephone.

Croatian Buildup Reported

LD2401112293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1052 GMT 24 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Knin, January 24 (TANJUG)—Croatia has continued to build up troops in the border area with the

Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) despite the U.N. Security Council demand for an immediate cessation of the aggression on the Krajina territory which began on January 22.

Troops of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) are deployed in the RSK territory.

The Croatian Army is concentrating in the direction of Mt. Kordun, in Banija and in eastern and western Slavonia and fighting has also spread to northern parts of the region of Lika, the RSK army headquarters said on Sunday [24 January] morning.

On Sunday morning, the citizens of the RSK centre of Knin were warned that the towns of Drnis and Knin may come under attack of long-range artillery. Air alert was signaled at 9 a.m. on Sunday.

"The enemy on Saturday failed to penetrate deep into the territory controlled by Serb forces," says a statement by the command of the RSK army and adds that the Serb army has even pushed on in some directions, especially in the wider area of Benkovac, sector south.

TANJUG's reporter has learned unofficially from army sources that Croat troops have left the Serb village of Grcki Islam near the Maslenica bridge. The village is devastated and houses burnt down.

Serbs from that and other villages have fled in the direction of Benkovac.

Serbs 'Going Over' to Croats

LD2401151793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] We have learned from military sources in Zadar that an increasing number of Serb nationals, who are willing to recognize the Croatian state and because of which are exposed to pressure from chetniks, are going over to the Croatian side. Yesterday afternoon [23 January] a large group of Serb nationals from Obrovac, Zagari, and Bilisani, led by commander Jovo Olujic and mobilized under duress a few days ago, laid down their arms and willingly went over to the Croatian side.

'Fierce' Fighting Continues

AU2401151793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Report by Danko Peric from Knin]

[Text] Fierce fighting has been going on between Zemunik and Maslenica since early this morning for the third day in a row. Krajina fighters are firmly holding their positions. The danger of air strikes is still in force in Knin. Sirens were heard this morning. They were also heard in Drnis, Benkovac, and Obrovac a few minutes ago. If Knin is bombarded, Zagreb and other major Croatian towns will not be spared either. This was stated by the headquarters of the Serbian Army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Zdravko Zecevic, prime minister of Krajina and head of the state committee for relations with the UN Protection Force, has sent a telegram to the Security Council, informing its members that the Croatian army has ignored the council's demand issued yesterday that the attacks stop. This was accepted by the Krajina side. This should have been seriously discussed today, but instead the Croatian side launched a fresh artillery attack. We insist on an extraordinary session of the Security Council, Zdravko Zecevic states.

Help is arriving in Benkovac—where there are more than 3,500 refugees. The citizens of Banja Luka and Knin are among the first to extend help.

Serbs Abandon 'Forward Positions'

LD2401220693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2132 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—The ISKRA news agency (of Serb Krajina in Croatia) reported this evening that under pressure from a considerably superior enemy, Serb defenders have abandoned their most forward positions along the Croatian aggressor's attacking lines in the zones of Zemunik and Maslenica, and have set up a new defense line.

Deployment Reported in Slavonia

AU2401152393 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] According to Serbian intelligence sources, additional mobilization of Croatian units in Slavonia and the Drava basin region has been completed in the last few days. Some of these units have already taken positions toward western Slavonia. Within the units, which are divided in groups, there are many tanks and armored vehicles. They are deployed between Nova Gradiska and Okucani, and between Daruvar and Pakrac.

According to intercepted Croatian radio messages, Croatian units are awaiting orders and are intensively following all changes in the UN Protection Force deployed along the line separating the two sides.

Serbs Claim Airport, Bridge

LD2501084093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0047 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—The night is passing peacefully in Knin, but all necessary preparations for a possible artillery attack by Croatian units have been carried out, the press center of the main headquarters of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] Army announced. Citing the press center of the RSK Army in Knin, SRNA reports that Zemunik airport [near Zadar] and the Maslenica bridge are still under the control of Serbian forces, although fighting in the Benkovac section of the battlefield is raging on.

According to military sources in Knin, a large concentration of Croatian military units has been observed in the north sector in the area of Banija and Kordun.

Crno 'Liberated' by Army

LD2501083193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] After the Croatian flag was raised on both sides of the Novsko straits, the Croatian Army last night [24 January] liberated the village of Crno, which was a strong chetnik stronghold only two kilometers away from Zadar, HINA [Croatian news agency] reported. Crno was occupied as early as the beginning of October 1991. It then had about 700 residents, 90 percent of whom were Croats. Many of their houses have been destroyed or burned down.

The road linking the site for building the Maslenica bridge with Zadar and its hinterland has been liberated as well, which means that the traffic isolation of Zadar and southern Croatia will soon be over.

It is peaceful in Zadar and Biograd this morning, as it was last night. Residents of the two towns and surrounding villages, however, spent last night—the third in a row—in shelters.

Army Captures Zemunik Airport

LD2501134293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1333 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 25 (TANJUG)—Croatian troops have captured Zemunik airport in a U.N. protected area, Croatian Army Chief General Janko Bobetko said on Monday [25 January].

Bobetko told a news conference in the nearby Croatian coastal town of Zadar that the Croatian troops also seized the Croatian villages round Zemunik, foreign agencies reported.

"Zemunik airport is in our hands. Not only have we liberated the road from Maslenica past Zemunik to Zadar, but also the Croatian villages around it", REUTER quoted Gen. Bobetko as saying.

REUTER said there was no confirmation yet of Croatia's claim that it seized Zemunik or of other fighting in this U.N. protected area.

The Croatian Army on Friday launched an aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina, controlled by the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The Croatian troops directed their strong attacks on Zemunik airport. Zemunik and its vicinity were also under U.N. protection.

Foreign news agencies failed to say where the UNPROFOR troops were at the moment the airport was seized and what has happened to them.

Croatian Officials Explain Attack on Krajina

Tudjman Explains Maslenica Action

LD2401230093 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1907 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by station reporter on 24 January; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Reporter] Mr. President, allow me to welcome you on behalf of our viewers and to thank you for giving us some of your time to explain in greater detail some of the events currently in the focus of both our and world public. Yet another round of negotiations in Geneva has ended. I should like to ask you first when and how was the decision made to send Croatian police and army formations to protect the construction site near the new bridge near Maslenica strait?

[Tudjman] Well, I passed the decision to deploy Croatian police and military forces in order initially to install a pontoon bridge and at a later stage to build a permanent bridge across the Maslenica strait after realizing that the Serb side was systematically hampering the implementation of an agreement which we had reached in principle and in accord with UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] and local Serbs in the area to begin the construction work. [passage omitted]

This is the reason why we tabled our demand with the UNPROFOR as well as with the co-chairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia, the UN Security Council, and the UN secretary general among others: We can no longer delay the beginning of work on the restoration of the Maslenica bridge. All those I have mentioned agreed to this. There was agreement even from those who control these Serbian rebels, Serbian ringleaders, in Croatia by their policy of aggression on the former Yugoslavia's soil, by their policy of aggression against Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Let me be specific, apart from this letter of 9 December we also discussed all these problems, including the Maslenica bridge, on 2 January, at the Geneva conference from 2 to 4 January.

On that occasion I also talked to President of Yugoslavia Cosic. Not only did I talk but I also gave, in writing, both President Cosic and the cochairmen, Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, a piece of paper which in its first point, the top priority point, included the demand to the effect that there was a need to install a pontoon bridge and to start building a conventional bridge. This took place on 4 January. On 6 January Mr. Vance and Lord Owen visited Belgrade, and following their return from Belgrade they said, in front of your cameras in Zagreb, that they had discussed all the problems of normalization, including the Maslenica bridge, and they even explicitly said that they had discussed the Maslenica bridge with Messrs Cosic and Milosevic and that agreement had been reached that one ought to start off with the Maslenica bridge and then continue to resolve other

issues. Our Government Vice President Milas, representative for relations with the UNPROFOR and for negotiations with the local authorities, was tasked with securing the implementation of this agreement. The Serb side, however, systematically delayed this agreement on facilitating the installation of a pontoon bridge.

Once we realized that the Serb side did not wish to normalize relations over this and other issues in a peaceful way, I made the decision, and our police with the help of our military forces launched an action to secure the start of the construction work first on a pontoon bridge and later on a permanent bridge.

It should be mentioned that the sole objective of our action was precisely this and nothing else, that is, to secure the construction site and the Maslenica-Zadar road. To secure this implied cleansing the entire pink zone in the Zadar region of Serb paramilitary formations which were positioned almost on the outskirts of Zadar. The area where the action took place is populated by 120,000 Croats and only 5,000 Serbs. Thanks to the Yugo-communist army, the Serb units were in the suburbs of Zadar, in Musapstan, and at Zemunik airport. We obviously could not tolerate such a situation any longer. That is why I ordered that action should be taken to secure normal conditions for building the bridge and for preventing any further harassment of the population in the Zadar area, and to end the abnormal situation in the region.

[Reporter] Mr. President, I ask you in your capacity as supreme commander of the Croatian Army—this is something in which our viewers, all our citizens are most seriously interested—to tell us what the latest stage of the operation regarding the Maslenica bridge is?

[Tudjman] Our operation has been completed. Resistance is still coming from some locations, from the bunkers they have built, underground, two to three levels, and some other points, but our action is completed and I think that our viewers will have the oportunity to see, now that the action has been completed at the location where work will begin to reconstruct the bridge, that the Croatian flag is flying and that the road from Maslenica to Zadar via Posedarje, Policnik, Murvica, and Muzafstan to Zadar is safe and that we will now be able to normalize traffic in the area.

[Reporter] Are there any casualties among our units?

[Tudjman] Unfortunately, there are. The Yugo-communist army and, later, Serb units fortified their positions in the entire area with the clear aim of turning it into the coastal area of their so-called Republic of Serb Krajina. In addition, our action has shown the world that UNPROFOR has failed to carry out its task of disarming Serb paramilitary formations. Serbs refused to lay down the arms and in instances where they handed over heavy weapons, they have now seized them again.

As a result our forces of order and our military forces in this action suffered 10 dead and 30 injured including two with serious injuries. The other side has, however, suffered far greater losses. According to our reports so far, there are over 120 dead on the other side. The operation itself should consequently be a warning to these Serb ringleaders in Knin that they should abandon the policy of confrontation with the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia, because this policy leads to a situation where they will be defeated. We have done everything on our part, and in this case we have again demonstrated our extreme patience and suggested a peaceful solution, because we wanted to prevent casualties, and most of all our own casualties.

I said I would do anything to prevent a single drop of blood from being shed and that I hold the life of every Croat, of every Croatian soldier dear. However, we cannot suffer indefinitely and delay the establishment of sovereignty across Croatian territory and the resolving of vital issues. Consequently, this operation, too, demonstrated that we were patient to the very end, but that we were also determined to fulfill our justified demands.

I am satisfied that I can say that responsible people in the world, ranging from cochairmen Mr. Vance and Lord Owen on the Conference on Yugoslavia, even to those in the United Nations, have reached an understanding that there is a need to resolve these matters, and that certain accusations about Croatian aggression are seen as ridiculous.

[Reporter] The chairman of the UN Security Council reacted extremely quickly. He demanded that the Croatian forces withdraw to their initial positions. What is your explanation?

[Tudjman] It is normal for the UN Security Council—this was not even a session of the UN Security Council, it was only the chairman of the UN Security Council who expressed his concern over the resurgence of armed confrontations—it is normal, given his office, that he calls for an end to the clashes and, as he said, to express regret and demand that the troops remain on their positions. However, given the context of our talks at the Geneva conference and elsewhere, the world will certainly understand that Croatia had done everything to render armed action unnecessary. However, because action had to be taken, the world will come to the realization that the implementation of the Vance plan ought to start. Had the Vance plan been implemented Serbian formations would be disarmed and consequently, it would be possible to resolve such issues peacefully on their own merits. Let me say that contrary to the Serbian extremists and ringleaders in Knin and Krajina who caused the numerous casualties inflicted on the Serbian population there, there are cases of serious dissatisfaction among Serbian formations.

It was precisely during the days of resolving the Maslenica case that there were cases in Knin and these other places that the mobilization and calls for a state of war which they declared was not heeded. There were cases of entire villages refusing to participate in the

battles against Croatian forces. For example, the village of Paljevo, south of Novigrad, refused to fight and asked for talks in spite of having been called up and told that aid was coming. This is understandable given the fact some 40 people from Gracac [north of Sibenik] alone died in these battles. It is clear that these people must realize that it is high time for them to eliminate these ringleaders who lead them into a hopeless situation and that they are seeking ways of expressing their loyalty to Croatia. There are many signs that the extremists who still want to wage war against Croatia account for some 10 per cent in these areas. If they continue to do so, they will end up in the same situation as here: with a large number of casualties. On our part we will provide the possibility of continuing in every way to find a peaceful solution. However, we will not tolerate any policy of delaying indefinitely the establishment of sovereignty in these area. [passage omitted]

I believe that Serbia will be forced by the general condemnation voiced by world public opinion and the increasing readiness of international factors to embark on international military intervention to accept the solutions that are being sought and offered within the framework of the Geneva conference.

[Reporter] How do you, Mr. President, view globally the results of yesterday's round of the Geneva peace conference? The main topic was to be the territorial division of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Who did you have talks with during the conference?

[Tudjman] In addition to the plenary meeting, we had bilateral meetings—as suggested by Mr. Vance and Lord Owen—with representatives of Serbia and Yugoslavia, i.e., [Yugoslav President Dobrica] Cosic, [Serbian President Slobodan] Milosevic, and [Montenegrin President Momir] Bulatovic. After that we had separate meetings with representatives of Bosnia-Hercegovina—the Muslim representatives, Mr. Izetbegovic and [Foreign Minister Haris] Silajdzic, and the Croatian representatives, Mr. [Mate] Boban and [Prime Minister Mile] Akmadzic.

On the whole, I could say that yesterday's round of the Geneva conference progressed in a rather tense atmosphere, but at the end it turned out that all warring sides had no other option except to search for a solution to the serious Bosnian crisis through negotiations. After all three sides—Croatian, Muslim, and Serb, and exactly in this order—accepted the constitutional principles, the cochairmen put on the agenda the problem of borders between the provinces. There are, of course, large discrepancies and opposing views, but I believe that the talks will now continue in Geneva until a compromise is reached, or until the cochairmen draw the conclusion that a compromising solution cannot be achieved. They will then submit a report to the Security Council, which would of course call for further radical steps.

We will see what will happen. We should not be too optimistic, but we should also count on the fact that the Muslim and Serb representatives from Bosnia-Hercegovina will accept solutions which will avoid the further escalation of the war and such undesirable outcomes in Bosnia-Hercegovina which could lead—as I said once before—to a conflict between Islam and the free Western world, to the involvement of volunteers from the remainders of the Bolshevik Soviet Union, now Orthodox Russia. I believe that the world will find ways to stop Sarajevo from becoming once again the scene of the beginning of a world war, as it was for World War I.

[Reporter] Can you tell us more about your meeting with Alija Izetbegovic? You met him twice over the last two days and except very brief reports nothing else has been said about these meetings.

[Tudjman] Well, my meetings with Mr. Izetbegovic, first here in Zagreb at his request and later in Geneva, focused on his statement that, calling a session of the Presidency and government [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], Croatia was denounced as more or less an aggressor. It should be said, first, that such a statement came as a complete surprise and shock to us after all that Croatia has done to provide shelter for half a million refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina, 80 percent of them Muslims, and after an agreement that we signed with the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, after all our efforts to extend help to Bosnia-Hercegovina, and in light of the fact that it is the Croatian population in Bosnia-Hercegovina which made the defense of the republic possible, preventing it from falling into the hands of greater Serbia and their Yugoslavia. After all that, such a statement came as more than a surprise since Croatia bears no responsibility for sporadic isolated clashes between, unfortunately, Croatian and Muslim units. [passage omitted]

Our talks in the last two days focused on this issue. I told Mr. Izetbegovic both personally and in the presence of the cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia that Croatia's attitude to Bosnia-Hercegovina depended on whether there was or was not an agreement and cooperation between Muslim and Croat representatives in Bosnia-Hercegovina. It is their task to come to an agreement, to present a common stand against the Serb aggressor. On the other hand, the Muslim policy must be such as not to jeopardize the survival of the Croatian population in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Although it is difficult to say who currently represents Bosnia-Hercegovina and its policy and although it is clear that Mr. Izetbegovic can speak only on behalf of the Muslim population despite an obvious sign that there is a high level of disagreement among their ranks, we expect Mr. Izetbegovic and his aides, under the present circumstances in which both Bosnia-Hercegovina and even Croatia and the world have found themselves, will allow common sense to prevail and that Muslim rperesentatives will accept a constitutional system in future Bosnia-Hercegovina and border demarcations which will satisfy the Croatian population in Bosnia-Hercegovina and which will remove all the causes of disagreements and clashes.

[Reporter] One more question about Bosnia-Hercegovina. Mr. President, what is your attitude on the issue of lifting the arms embargo in view of the latest report saying that some prominent world politicians have spoken in favor of the embargo being lifted?

[Tudjman] Our view on this issue has been from the word go that we want this war to end; we want the aggressor to be forced to end the war; we even want war criminals to be punished, to be tried before the international court for war crimes. We do not want, however, the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina continuing forever since it threatens Croatia's territory and stops us from tackling our own problems of UN-protected zones and because we in Croatia would be faced with another flood of millions of refugees. This is where we differ from the views that the simple way of resolving the problem would be to lift the embargo. Lifting the embargo would be useful only if the international community is prepared to take steps to become involved in the efforts to curb the aggression. If the embargo is lifted simply to enable Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia to obtain arms, many years will pass before Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina match the Yugo-Serb army technically. In other words, lifting the embargo with no other measures would mean a prolonged war, more casualties, and increasingly higher position [as received] for Croatia in every respect. Accordingly, we are not in favor of the embargo being lifted as a sole measure. We want the three warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina to reach a peaceful solution to end the war or rather for the international community to force the aggressor to abandon its plans and for the representatives of the three nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, with the help, and even in case of those who refuse to accept solution, with the dictate from the international community, to find a solution to end the war and to establish peace on the territory in our neighborhood.

[Reporter] At the previous round of the Geneva conference you presented proposals for the normalization of relations between Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It seems to me that you are again one step ahead of others in your political plans. Has the other side given any answer, reaction, or comment?

[Tudjman] Not only the state leadership but the whole of the Croatian nation are embittered by Belgrade's policy, by the aggression, victims, destruction, by what is happening in Bosnia-Hercegovina. But as people responsible for the present and the future of the Croatian nation, we must take care not only of today—being lead by emotions, by justified bitterness—we must also ensure that tomorrow does not bring fresh casualties.

Maslenica is a good example. In order to solve the problem of Maslenica Bridge alone we had to give up 10 Croatian lives. How many would we have to give if we had to solve all other issues by war today, or if war was unavoidable tomorrow? For these reasons, for reasons of historic responsibility for the future of the nation which trusts us, we suggested the normalization of relations between Croatia and Serbia. We know very well that unless we build firm foundations for the normalization of relations between sovereign, independent, internationally recognized Croatia and their Serbia, ie independent, sovereign Serbia and their Yugoslavia, clashes will continue today and claim further lives, and there will be the threat of a new war in the future. [passage omitted]

Therefore, on the basis of such examples and vital interests, the normalization of relations between independent sovereign Croatia and Serbia must be achieved at some point. Our proposals were made in this sense. As I said, Yugoslav President Cosic and Serbian President Milosevic also said that the historic moment to begin the normalization has arrived. But, as we can see, apart for verbal acceptance they are not yet ready to pursue concrete steps leading toward normalization.

After their imperialistic policy of creating greater Serbia, after all the trouble they caused by their aggression on the path to achieving a greater Serbia, it is not easy for them to extricate themselves from that policy. Furthermore, there are great tribulations in Serbia too. The Serbian leaders say in that respect that there has been a change of government, which is why they could not give a specific answer to our proposals, but that they are ready to continue working along the path of normalization. At the talks yesterday, they again spoke in favor of normalization. Therefore, despite the current tensions, I still believe that the leaders in Belgrade have no option other than to accept the normalization of relations with Croatia.

In this connection, I pointed out at yesterday's plenary session of the Geneva conference, as well as during bilateral talks, that it is now ridiculous and not only unfounded, but also completely irresponsible of the leading people in Belgrade to speak of some kind of Republic of Serbian Krajina, the Serbian Republic of Krajina because Croatia was internationally recognized within its borders. It is ridiculous that they should speak about the right of the Serbian nation to self-determination, because according to any international law or practice no national minority has the right to self-determination, to form some kind of state within a state or to secede from internationally recognized states. If that was the case, there would be total chaos in the world.

The Serbian leaders have partly realized this, and they should say it publicly as soon as possible in order to sober up some misled people and Serbs in Croatia. Serbs in Croatia should realize that they have to seek solutions to all issues of their civil and ethnic rights within the constitutional and legal order of sovereign Croatia.

[Reporter] Mr. President, how do you see relations with Slovenia developing in light of certain disagreements between the two states?

[Tudjman] I think that the relations will develop in line with traditionally good relations between Croatia and Slovenia and in line with current international norms. Of

course, there are disagreements between us but they are not of the kind which cannot be resolved in a satisfactory way. I expect that after a new government is installed, after the coming elections in Slovenia, we will be able to embark on efforts more effectively to resolve outstanding issues.

[Reporter] In view of the economic situation and the war still in progress in some parts, life for the majority of our citizens is very hard. I believe that this is one of your most pressing concerns. When can we expect inflationary tendencies to weaken and what, in concrete terms, will Croatia's membership in international monetary institutions mean?

[Tudjman] Well, the economic situation in Croatia is not an easy one but let us use common sense in this case as well. In light of the changes that we have experienced it is a miracle that, after all the changes, after the war, the disintengration of Yugoslavia and by implication of the Yugoslav markets, after the disintegration of the socialist system and the difficulties imposed on us by the destruction of one quarter of Croatia, it is, as I said, a miracle that we have emerged or have found ourselves in a situation which is no worse than in other countries emerging from the socialist system. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] We are approaching the end of the program, the interview. In a certain way, recent events have confirmed your words that you will try to do everything peacefully in order to save every human life. You always repeated peace, but also stressed that if necessary, force will be used to regain what is ours. According to reports available to us, the action in the Maslenica area has received support throughout Croatia. Was it difficult to make the decision?

[Tudjman] Of course. Every such decision which can result in casualties and cause international repercussions is not easy. But on the basis of overall historical experience and the experiences of the Croatian nation and my own, I do not hesitate to make decisions which I consider to be necessary and in the interest of the Croatian nation and Croatia, regardless of the fact that they sometimes might appear unpopular.

I know that my negotiations with the opposing side which, as ordinary people told me and wrote in our press, should not be trusted ... [pauses]. What is at issue in politics and international relations is not trust, but interests, one's power and international circumstances. [passage omitted]

Therefore, in politics, in life, and in historical development of certain countries and nations, international relations, geopolitical relations, and the interests of a nation or a country are longlasting. People who find themselves leading a country must be able to keep on top of all events and make the best decisions for the nation and the country in given historical circumstances, but they must also consider the future and not get lost in everyday difficulties and succumb to side issues of the longlasting guidelines in the creation, in the constant struggle to create on the one hand the sovereignty of a nation, and on the other conditions for permanent peace in certain parts of the world, in this case in southeastern Europe and this unfortunate Balkans which has for a long time, for a very, very, long time, been the problem for not only the people who live here and must find a solution to their life together, but also for the whole of Europe and the world.

Croatia is here on the boundary of civilizations, and in this specific case of Bosnia-Hercegovina for which Croatia is vitally interested and with which it is linked, the problem is actually in the clash of civilizations as it was a long time ago. In this sense I think that Croatian politicians have proved their maturity and the Croatian nation has achieved as much as it could in the difficult and complex circumstances. It gained its sovereignty and international recognition, and based the foundations for its future.

[Announcer] Mr. President, thank you for your patience and for this interview.

Foreign Ministry Statement on Attack

LD2301085993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Croatia issued a public statement regarding events that took place in the area of Maslenica yesterday [22 January] saying that the Republic of Croatia, supported by international peace mediators, repeatedly tabled a question regarding the restoration of traffic across the Maslenica straits as a question of utmost economic and social importance for approximately 1 million citizens of southern Croatia and several million people in southern Bosnia-Hercegovina. The statement stresses that Croatian authorities reached a political agreement with international peace negotiators on the beginning of work on the reconstruction of a direct traffic link by erecting a temporary pontoon bridge, and eventually a new bridge, acting in accordance with Vance's [cochairman of the Council on Yugoslavia] UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali said in his report for the UN Security Council that all areas outside the protected zone must be completely returned to Croatian jurisdiction and that conditions must be created for the return of refugees. He also expressed particular gratitude to the Croatian Government for the flexibility shown in the government's response to the efforts of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] commander to find a solution to the problem of the so-called pink zones.

In his letter to the UN Security Council chairman dated 9 December 1992, President Tudjman asked that Croatian authorities be permitted to construct a temporary pontoon bridge and also to begin the construction of a new bridge. This was also discussed at the international conference on former Yugoslavia in Geneva between 2-4 January 1993, at which cochairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen agreed that UNPROFOR should allow the bridge's construction. Presidents Cosic and Milosevic

promised they would not oppose the construction of the bridge. Following a meeting with Presidents Cosic and Milosevic in Belgrade on 6 January the cochairmen repeated they agreed with the bridge's construction. After talks between UNPROFOR and the Croatian Government, the Croatian side agreed to meet on 21 January with representatives of the occupier. On 20 January, however, the Croatian authorities were informed that the occupying side asked for the meeting to be postponed.

In accordance with the aforementioned political agreement, Croatian police forces began securing approaches to the construction site of the pontoon bridge yesterday in order to protect construction workers and equipment of the building company, the statement by the Croatian Foreign Ministry says in conclusion.

Skrabalo: Offensive 'Police Operation'

AU2201193793 Vienna ORF Television Network in German 1830 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Croatian troops began an offensive against the region of Krajina, which is held by the Serbs. The soldiers crossed the cease-fire line near the Croation Adriatic town of Zadar. [passage omitted] Croatian Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo, who is currently in Bonn, said that it is merely a police operation to protect construction works at a bridge near Maslenica, a place near Zadar.

[Begin Skrabalo recording in German] Croatian police protected the construction workers and construction firms there. Whether an offensive took place there, I do not know. However, it was not an offensive, but police assistance for the workers constructing the bridge. [end recording]

Radio Blames 'Chetniks' for Attack

LD2201170393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Early this morning Croatian policemen started securing the Maslenica area for the future construction of a bridge which will reestablish the direct link between northern and southern Croatia. Police forces from the Republic of Croatia have been deployed in that area to protect construction workers and the equipment of companies carrying out construction work.

Chetniks based in a nearby stronghold launched a fierce attack on the Croatian police officers, who returned fire. The police officers have received help from Croatian Army formations in securing the approaches to the construction site. When the chetnik attacks intensified, a general alert was sounded in Zadar and Biograd.

The Croatian Government had reached an agreement with international groups on beginning the construction of the bridge; representatives of the so-called FRY also agreed to it at negotiations in Geneva.

Letter Sent to Security Council

LD2301090993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] In connection with events regarding the Maslenica bridge, Dr. Mario Nobilo, permanent representative of the Republic of Croatia to the UN, sent a letter yesterday [22 September] to UN Security Council Chairman Yoshio Hatano presenting an explanation, in accordance with directions from the Croatian Government, on a limited and completed action by the Croatian police forces and the Croatian Army units on the territory of the Republic of Croatia of which the objective was to secure an area where the Maslenica bridge is to be repaired and in order to reopen the only airport in Zadar region.

The letter also contains a reaction to a letter sent by Federal Republic of Yugoslavia President Dobrica Cosic to the UN Security Council yesterday. Dr. Nobilo stressed that President Dobrica Cosic, stressing that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has a right to protect the Serb people in the Republic of Croatia, is threatening to launch a fresh aggression of the Yugoslav Army against the Republic of Croatia. If that happens then the Croatian people and its government have the right to protect and defend the Republic of Croatia from any kind of outside military aggression and are ready to use all available means to fulfill that task.

Defense Council Discusses Fighting

LD2201205693 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Excerpts] The first session of the Council for Defense and National Security, presided over by President Franjo Tudjman, was held in the Presidential Palace today. In the introductory part of the session, the president of the Republic spoke about the constitutional foundations and reasons for the formation of the Council, a statement from the president's office says.

In the course of the wide-ranging agenda of the session, there was discussion of relations with the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in connection with the recent statement from the session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency and Government, which took place without the presence of the Croatian members of these bodies, and in which the Republic of Croatia is blamed for the spread of the conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Council rejected the accusations in the statement and is greatly concerned and regrets that there has been a clash, an attack by certain Muslim units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army on units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the population of Gornji Vakuf, which resulted in casualties and damage to property.

The Council stresses that, from the beginning of the Serb aggression in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Republic of Croatia, although itself damaged and impoverished by war, has borne and is continuing to bear a large burden

both in material and human terms. The Republic of Croatia is caring for several hundred thousand refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina, of whom more than 80 percent are Muslims. The Republic of Croatia is also contributing to a large extent to supplies to Bosnia-Hercegovina, and in its diplomatic and consular missions in the world it is affording consular and other assistance to refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Republic of Croatia was the first state in the world to recognize Bosnia-Hercegovina, establish diplomatic relations, and appointed an ambassador to it. The Republic of Croatia has always and will continue to respect mutually concluded and adopted agreements on friendship and cooperation between the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Republic of Croatia. The Republic of Croatia has at all negotiations so far, including the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia, advocated a peaceful and political solution to the conflict in the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and has supported the Geneva documents that have been signed by the representatives of the Croatian nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

The Council also examined a report on the activities of the Croatian police forces securing the beginning of the construction of the Maslenica bridge, the statement from the President's Office says in conclusion.

Serbian Krajina Officials React to New Fighting

Hadzic Interviewed on 'Aggression'

AU2301221993 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Interview with Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, by Krste Bijelic in Knin on 23 January—recorded]

[Text] [Hadzic] We expected this aggression. Even when Vance's plan was adopted last year, we knew that Croatia would not agree to such a solution. From the very first day, peace was established up until yesterday when they violated the truce, and we expected (?this).

What is important to point out here is that last night and today at the meeting with UN representatives, we received exclusive confirmation from them that this was a unilateral truce violation and an attack on UN-protected territories on the part of the Republic of Croatia. This was said by a Canadian general who is Nambiar's [UN Protection Force commander] deputy. They guarantee that this is not going to change on the way to New York and that not a different truth, but what really happened in Krajina yesterday and today will be presented to the world.

What I must say in general is that the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] is incapable of protecting Serbs on the territory that it accepted and promised to protect. However, I am saying this for Belgrade Television and the entire Serbian people: Be sure that we are capable of protecting ourselves and that we are going to defend ourselves and protect our young, new Serbian state that has been created here.

[Bijelic] Mr. Hadzic, what have you, as president of the republic, and other republican institutions done in this respect?

[Hadzic] Last night, we proclaimed a state of war on the entire territory of our republic; we carried out a general mobilization on the entire territory of our republic as well; we are ready for defense and not only for defense—we will be ready to fight back if we are attacked (?again). For the time being, the frontline has not moved and the situation is under control. I personally promised the UN negotiators today that we are not going to launch a counteroffensive because, by attacking the forces that are protecting us, Croatia would be making a bad political move, but if the United Nations—that is, the Security Council—fail to speak up and condemn the Croatian aggression, then we shall be forced to respond with full force because the frontline along which we expected an attack was approximately 200 km long and it is logical that forces can be amassed along a territory of 500 meters and a small, short incursion can be made like they made at the beginning of their attack. However, if we ordered a counteroffensive, then the situation will probably turn to our advantage.

[Bijelic] Croatia, therefore, has not only carried out an attack against the republic of Serbian Krajina, but has also directly violated Vance's plan. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is one of the signatories of the plan. How do you assess the future behavior of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in this respect?

[Hadzic] Before I say this about Yugoslavia, it is important to say that Croatia has violated several resolutions of the Security Council, many more than Iraq did. Therefore, if the world has the same attitude toward warring sides to any extent, then measures that were taken against Iraq should be taken against Croatia as well.

Regarding the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, according to Vance's plan it has signed an obligation to protect us. We expect them to help us according to the obligation that they have met [corrects himself] according to the obligation that they promised. If they fail to do so, we will be able to defend ourselves alone. We have sent an appeal to the entire Serbian nation around the world to send volunteers and help us because we expect help from the Serbian people.

[Bijelic] Thank you, Mr. President.

[Hadzic] Thank you.

Hadzic Appeals to Yugoslavia

AU2401195993 Pristina TVP Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] As the ISKRA agency has learned unofficially, Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serbian

Krajina, has sent a letter to Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic from his headquarters in Knin, asking him urgently to call a session of the Council for the National Defense of Yugoslavia.

According to the Constitution, in addition to the president of the republic and the chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Army, the presidents of Serbia and Montenegro are also members of the council.

The demand sent by Hadzic is based on the obligations assumed by Yugoslavia according to the Vance plan. Yugoslavia is obliged to defend the population of Krajina with its army in case of aggression. Since the military involvement of Tudjman's Croatia against the Serbian population of the republic of Serbian Krajina is increasing day by day, since the blue helmets are not strong enough militarily to defend the threatened people, and since Croatia is not respecting the authority of the United Nations and continues its aggression, despite the Security Council's resolution, Goran Hadzic holds the view that the conditions are ripe for Yugoslavia to assume the role of a defender, as obliged by the Vance plan.

In this case, the Army of Yugoslavia will act as the armed forces of the United Nations, in accordance with international law.

'State of War' Ordered

LD2301075393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0022 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 22 (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) Goran Hadzic on Friday [22 January] evening declared the state of war on the entire RSK territory and ordered a general mobilization, the news agency ISKRA said.

ISKRA quoted a statement from Hadzic's office as saying the state of war was declared so that the RSK could defend itself from the Croatian aggression. The RSK Armed Forces, its government and all state organs will constantly and fully engage themselves in the defence of the country, the statement said.

On Friday morning, Croatia launched a frontal attack on the RSK, which is under U.N. protection. Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic sent a letter to the president of the U.N. Security Council to warn him about possible consequences of Croatia's aggression.

Hadzic Says Serbs To Counterattack

LD2201234093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2231 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), Goran Hadzic, had talks this evening in Knin with a UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] delegation, which arrived at the headquarters of the RSK in connection with the attack by the Croatian army on territory under UN protection.

We have seriously warned that we are prepared to return fire even at the Croatian capital, if they do not stop their attacks, Hadzic said, after the talks with the UNPROFOR delegation, which was led by the deputy commander of the UN peacekeeping forces in the former Yugoslavia, General Gudrov [name and title as received].

Hadzic stated that the talks with the UNPROFOR delegation will be continued tomorrow.

Krajina Commander Discusses Attack

AU2301224793 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Interview with Major General Milo Novakovic, commander of the Serbian Army of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, by Krste Bijelic in Knin on 23 January—recorded]

[Text] [Novakovic] I can say that we discovered indicators pointing to the aggression in time and that by slowly introducing measures, we were able to create conditions to prevent surprises. This is the truth and can be seen from the fact that the Ustashas did not manage to achieve a single one of their basic aims in the first stage of the [word indistinct] operation: Maslenica and the Zemunik airfield—the aims of the first stage—have not been taken. The only success during these past two days was a small incursion toward Novigrad and along this region, the southern side of the Novigrad Sea. However, this does not even have a tactical, let alone operational or strategical significance. Considering the size of the engaged forces; the fact that the leading people [celnik]—as they call them—have arrived in this region from their headquarters; the fact that they carried out changes in the commands of the operational zones; that they brought a new commander from the Croatian Defense Council to Zadar; and that they replaced commanders from three to four brigades—therefore, considering these very comprehensive preparations—their aims were, and I believe that they remain to be, far more ambitious. Namely, their excuse is the need to take Maslenica and the Zemunik airfield, but one should not doubt that their final aim in this region is Knin.

In defending their state, the Serbs will use everything, from a fork to a missile, and believe me, there is nothing we are not going to do to persuade and assure the gentlemen in Zagreb that they must either kill us or recognize us. There is nothing else.

[Bijelic] These weapons were under joint safekeeping with the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR].

[Novakovic] These weapons were under joint safekeeping, but there is no key to lock Serbian freedom. It has not been made.

Martic Discusses Attack, Mobilization

AU2201214593 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Telephone interview with Milan Martic, minister of internal affairs of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, by Radmila Kablar on 22 January; place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Kablar] Minister Martic, what exactly has been happening in the southern part of the Republic of Serbian Krajina since this morning?

[Martic] Early this morning at approximately 0700, Croatia launched an aggressive attack against the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Its forces assaulted the frontline for approximately 100 km—to be more precise, from the village of (?Novaljska), the Velebit Mountain and the saddle of (?Alan), up to Drnis, which totals approximately 100 km. They used artillery, infantry, and all available means.

Unfortunately, what has hit the people here and what they did not expect is the inferiority of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] that passively watched all of this. Until this moment, the war has been going on in the real meaning of the word in this entire region. We have our positions and we will hold them indefinitely [do daljnjeg].

[Kablar] Is this a new war in the Republic of Serbian Krajina?

[Martic] After the UN peace mission was accepted, we honestly hoped that the war was finished for us, but we did not lull ourselves with the belief in their complete protection.

According to all facts, Croatia was not reconciled to consider this territory lost and left it at that. Obviously, this is a new aggression by them that we cannot simply watch. Regardless of whether this is a war or not, we are going to continue to defend our country.

[Kablar] It is about 1700 now. Do you have any reports on the situation on the frontline?

[Martic] The momentary situation is such that we have, unfortunately, had casualties on our side as well. The enemy also has great losses in its ranks because we have been protecting our positions. Unfortunately, two of our people were killed and about 10 wounded.

[Kablar] What is the feeling and response to the mobilization summons?

[Martic] I think that the summons was pretty much unnecessary. When people heard what happened, they reported en masse to help as volunteers, although they also had the obligation. Therefore, I would say that the mobilization we carried out was completely successful and that there are no problems, so that what we have been doing so far will not be [word indistinct].

[Kablar] Minister Martic, do you think that what is involved is a limited attack carried out with a view to moving our forces away from the Maslenica bridge?

[Martic] For about a month, Tudjman has been constantly mentioning Maslenica and Maslenica bridge. We know very well what the Maslenica bridge means to them, as they had been cut up there in a geographical sense. That bridge also has a significance for tourism and a complete functioning of the state. They have announced that if they fail to win the bridge back through the United Nations, they are going to do so by aggression.

In our recent talks through UNPROFOR, we presented our conditions to them under which the Maslenica bridge can function, of course with certain concessions that they should make to the republic of Serbian Krajina. Above all, this implies some economic conditions, as well as that they should stop their attacks that they had been constantly launching. However, this obviously did not suit Croatia and, you see, this morning they (?attacked) exactly what we had taken to be [word indistinct] variant.

Krajina Demands UN Meeting

LD2301102793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0925 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—A demand by the UN Security Council that Croatia stop the aggression and withdraw its troops and the way in which it was done shows the UN's inability to punish the real culprit for armed conflicts taking place on the territory of former Yugoslavia, says a letter from the Krajina government to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, the Security Council, and the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Command which was sent last night. The letter stresses that an oral statement and a warning to Croatia to halt the aggression in practice represent an encouragement not only to the Croatian side but also to all other potential aggressors that they can do whatever they please and stay unpunished.

The Krajina government further says that the Republic of Croatia was never called on to account for all the violations and breaches of cease-fire, warning that it will never allow something similar to the Maljevica plateau aggression and massacre to happen again and that it will take measures if the regular forces of Croatia do not withdraw.

At a time when the Croatian forces are carrying out an aggression, in which civilian population also perish, the letter by the Krajina government continues, President Tudjman and his closest associates are saying that they launched this military operation in coordination with the UN. This was denied, however, by authorized UNPROFOR bodies based in Krajina, the letter says.

The government of the Republic of Serb Krajina is calling for an extraordinary session of the Security

Council so that a stop is finally put to such Croatia's behavior and adequate sanctions against it imposed. Otherwise, the letter warns, the entire international community will be responsible for the possible spreading of war in the Balkans.

Krajina Says UN Knew of Attack

LD2201231193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2129 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 22 (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) on Friday [22 January] accused ranking officers of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) that they knew the Croatian Army would on Friday attack the region from Maslenica to Zemunik Airport, western parts of RSK, which is an United Nations Protection Area (UNPA).

A statement reported by the Krajina news agency ISKRA, said that UNPROFOR, particularly its Deputy Commander Cedric Thornberry, "tried to cover up the beginning of the Croatian aggression with an alleged offer by the Zagreb regime for negotiations on several outstanding questions."

"The talks were scheduled for the day of the attack, and UNPROFOR unofficially informed us on Thursday morning that the talks would not be held, without elaborationg, which gives us the right to say that it was an attempted coordinated trick," the statement said.

The RSK Government said "UNPROFOR knew Croatia had been amassing troops and bringing in artillery and rocket systems for the past 15 days, but tried to justify the fact by saying the Croatian Army was holding military manoeuvres."

"Thus, the UNPROFOR leadership lost all moral credibility as peacekeepers," said the statement, adding the RSK Government would "adopt special decisions on future relations with UNPROFOR."

The statement said that 1,500-2,000 persons had fled from the region attacked by the Croatian Army, to Benkovac (southern parts of RSK) which shows UNPROFOR failed in its task to protect.

The RSK was proclaimed by Serbs within the administrative borders of Croatia where they are the majority population in 1991, in reply to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and attempt to reduce the status of Serbs to that of a national minority.

"(With the attack) Croatia showed there can be no further discussion about a political solution," said the statement, noting that all obligations of the RSK to refrain from military actions ceased because "self-defence is the holy right of each nation."

Croatian radio on Friday said the Croatian Army's attack in the region of Maslenica Bridge was carried out with the knowledge of U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

Serbs Criticize French Unit

LD2401222893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2122 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—The General Staff of the Army of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] announced this evening that Croatian troops are concentrating in a broad region around the Peruca hydroelectric plant.

The 126th Croatian Brigade is being sent reinforcements in troops, equipment, and military hardware.

Fresh troops also are being sent to reinforce the Croatian forces in the region of Drnis, where a number of provocative artillery attacks against Serb villages occurred today.

Milan Martic, RSK minister of internal affairs, told Knin-based Serb television this evening that the conduct of the peace forces during the Croatian army's aggression against the RSK—the area under their protection—was, to put it mildly, indifferent.

As he stressed, this refers in particular to the French battalion within the peace forces.

It has been learned unofficially that members of the French forces within the UN Protection Force have been interfering with the links and communications between Serb forces.

There are indications that in Maslenica they moved as an advance party ahead of the Croatian forces.

There is a well-founded suspicion that they did nothing to help the Krajina policemen who were ambushed on the Mali Alan pass on Mount Velebit, where 21 of the policemen were massacred.

Krajina Forces Threaten Cities

LD2401132593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—The General Staff of the Krajina forces today announced that if Knin, Obrovac, and Benkovac were bombed then Krajina would bomb cities in Croatia. "Zagreb will not be spared either," the General Staff warned in the statement.

Croatian forces have threatened to bomb the above cities in Krajina because of all the losses it has sustained, the General Staff said.

Commentator Views FRY Obligations

AU2301231593 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Commentary by Milorad Drecun]

[Text] By staging an attack with 11 Croatian Army brigades—more than 30,000 people—against the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which is under UN protection along the directions of Zadar-Obrovac, Sibenik-Drnis-Knin, and Sinj-Vrlika, Tudjman is trying to improve his positions before the resumption of the Geneva negotiations and take the Serbian territories back to the Republic of Croatia by force.

Although the Croatian Army has made initial successes by making an incursion deep into the Novigrad coast, these operations have been halted by the successful defense operations of the Serbian forces. The Croatian Army had no success on other sections of the front.

However, Croatia is still concentrating its troops and carrying out artillery and air strikes against Knin. The military aim of the Croatian Army is to make an incursion into the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which is under protection of the UN forces, and cut off a section of the territory along the Novigrad-Benkovac-Drnis line. At the same time, Croatian Army forces are being amassed along the northern borders of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and Slavonia, which is in conformity with Croatia's openly expressed intentions to occupy territories under UN protection by force. The Guard brigade and the 140th mechanized brigade are positioned in Karlovac and some strong forces around Gospic are also ready to move. Five brigades that include artillery and armored forces have been placed in eastern Slavonia and western Srem. Howitzers of the D-30 type and the T-55 and M-84 tanks are positioned along the Kutina-Novska-Lipovljan line. Croatia's intention is to open the Novska-Nova Gradiska highway by force.

Croatia's aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina means the undermining of Vance's plan, according to which the United Nations is obligated to protect the freedom and security of Krajina. This is an open challenge for the United Nations who should ensure its authority and order an end to operations and the withdrawal to original positions. If the United Nations cannot do this with the existing UN Protection Force troops, then they must employ additional forces. By agreeing to Vance's plan, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has also obligated itself to guard Krajina's security and with this plan, the Yugoslav Army was recognized as an armed force of the United Nations for the protection of Krajina. It would, therefore, be logical that if the Security Council cannot prevent Croatian aggression with the existing forces, then it should assign this task to the Yugoslav Army, which has the right to meet its obligation to protect the Serbian Krajina in conformity with the provisions of Vance's plan.

Further Croat Intentions Alleged

AU2401213093 Pristina TVP Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Commentary by Milovan Drecun]

[Text] Despite the warning by the United Nations, the condemnation of the international community, the warning by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the army of Yugoslavia, Croatia is continuing aggression on the Republic of Serbian Krajina with its armed forces. The simple fact that the aggression is continuing and that plans are being made for new attacks on the territory of the republic of Serbian Krajina, which is under UN protection, is confirmed by information on the fresh Croatian forces being brought from the other parts of Croatia.

So, in the Sibenik hinterland, we now have the 141st, 142d, and 143d brigades of the Croatian army. The 113th was already there. The 126th Croatian brigade is concentrated toward Peruca, which is held by the UN forces, and thanks to the Kenyan battalion the Croatian forces have not come to that region. The 118th brigade of the Croatian army is trying to act toward Ravanjska, the strongest, the most important point for the defense of the Maslenica gorge, which is held by the Serbian forces. Moreover, the 110th and 129th brigades of the Croatian First Guard are concentrated in the Karlovac region. The 121st and 125th brigades are in the Novska and Kutina regions.

The disposition of the Croatian forces indicates further plans and intentions of the Republic of Croatia. The main aim is to take Ravanjska, Maslenica, and the Zemunik airfield to form a base for further operations toward Knin. Beside this, with simultaneous actions with the Muslim forces in the Cazin Krajina, the Republic of Croatia is trying to cut through the republic of Serbian Krajina along the Ogulin-Clunj-Cazin Krajina line, and of course, to trick the Muslims again because the aims of the Republic of Croatia and the Muslim forces are completely different.

Croatia made several tactically bad moves. Although it initially had successes in its advance toward Novigrad—the Croatian army partly entered Novigrad—it was pushed out of Novigrad, thanks to the Serbian defense. The advance they made with their move makes it very easy to cut the Croatian forces off, and to encircle and destroy them, so the Croatian forces are in danger of being surrounded again.

The ultimate aim of these actions by the army of the Republic of Croatia is to lift the blockade of the highway, cut through the republic of Serbian Krajina toward the Cazin Krajina, with the help of the Muslim forces, as I have already said, and to reach the Sava River, which is the real ultimate aim of the Croatian forces.

One also should say that the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] has not responded appropriately to the

aggression of the Republic of Croatia, that the plans made for the evacuation were obviously without effect and did not work properly, that the UNPROFOR men left their positions, and that these positions were taken over by the Serbian forces.

At about 1400 today, a fierce artillery attack was launched on the positions of the army of the republic of Serbian Krajina. This obviously proves that Croatia is preparing new aggression—that is, an infantry attack—which probably will follow very quickly.

With its staff changes Croatia obviously has let the world know that it is not giving up aggression because it appointed notorious Janko Bobetko [Croatian general]—who was instrumental in the capture, killing, and mutilation of some 20 Serb fighters—commander of the operative group commanding all these actions.

UN Reacts to Renewal of Fighting in UN Zone

UN Lodges Protest to Croats

LD2301213993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2113 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 23 (TANJUG)—UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] commander, Gen. Satish Nambiar, said on Saturday [23 January] evening that the Croatian Army shelled the U.N. peace force (UNPROFOR) in the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) and that a French soldier was heavily wounded in the attack.

He told newsmen in Zagreb that the Croatian forces shelled one or two UNPROFOR positions in the townlet of Biljane, northeast from the Croatian Zadar port, REUTER news agency reported.

UNPROFOR has lodged a strong protest over the incident to the commander in chief of the Croatian Army, Gen. Janko Bobetko, Gen. Nambiar said.

The Croatian Army continued its offensive on the RSK on Saturday despite warnings from the U.N. Security Council to the Croatian forces to withdraw to their original positions. The offensive was launched on Friday morning.

The territory of the RSK, which the Serbs proclaimed within the administrative boundaries of Croatia where they make up the majority population, was since March 1992 under the protection of UNPROFOR.

Butrus-Ghali Criticizes Attack

LD2301110293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1035 GMT 23 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] New York, January 23 (TANJUG)—United Nations (U.N.) Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali assessed the offensive by the Croatian Army on areas of former Yugoslavia which are under U.N. protection as a "unilateral military action" and a blow to the peace efforts of the world organization.

In a statement announced on Friday [22 January] evening, Butrus-Ghali deplored the Croatian Army attack. The U.N. Security Council through its representative on Friday also expressed regret over this violation of the peace agreement, and urged the Croatian Army to withdraw to positions occupied before launching this offensive.

The Croatian Army on Friday openly attacked towns in sector south of the republic of Serb Krajina, which is under protection of the U.N. peace forces (UNPROFOR) under the Cyrus Vance peace plan.

The republic of Serb Krajina, which was proclaimed by Serbs within the administrative borders of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia in territories where they are the majority population or a significant minority, is not recognized by the Zagreb authorities. Croatia has lately on several occasions pointed out that it would use force to recover these territories, which it considers its own.

The statement by Butrus-Ghali said that an UNPROFOR checkpoint had been destroyed in the Croatian Army offensive.

The government of the republic of Serb Krajina said on Friday that Croatian forces had also attacked positions of the French and Kenyan UNPROFOR batallions and that the peace forces were suffering losses in troops and materiel.

The Krajina statement also said that Geneva conference cochairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen had asked Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to order his army to withdraw to its starting positions.

The statement by Butrus-Ghali, however, indicates that UNPROFOR commander in former Yugoslavia General Satish Nambiar had sent a similar request to Tudjman but had received a reply that the Croatian Army would not (?withdraw) but would not advance any further than the area around the Maslenica bridge. Serbs control this bridge which is the only connection between the southern and northern parts of the Croatian Adriatic coast.

The U.N. secretary-general's statement said that deputy UNPROFOR commander, Major-General Robert Gaudreau had been sent to the area to review the situation and issue instructions to the U.N. forces on how to proceed further.

Observation of Cease-Fire Urged

AU2301213493 Paris AFP in English 2127 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 23 (AFP)—The U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in former Yugoslavia called Saturday [23 January] on Croats and Serbs fighting in

southern Croatia to observe a cease-fire "as soon as possible" and return to their positions prior to the outbreak of hostilities.

In a three-page statement the UNPROFOR said it "deeply deplored this unilateral resort to force (by Croatia) and resulting hostilities in an area in which peace had been established for more than a year".

UNPROFOR Denies Approving Attack

LD2201234693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2334 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, Jan 22 (TANJUG)—Deputy head of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] civilian affairs Jeannie Peterson said in Knin on Friday [22 January] evening the United Nations and UNPROFOR did not give mandate to the Republic of Croatia to use force to secure the reconstruction of the Maslenica bridge.

She said Croatia's explanation about the reasons of the attack resembled the well-known fable about a wolf and a lamb.

The Croatian Army on Friday morning launched a frontal attack on the southern sector of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), which is under U.N. protection. The attack covered the area of some 100 kilometres.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said the operation was limited to securing the area for the reconstruction of the Maslenica bridge.

Peterson met with RSK parliament President Mile Paspalj to convey him the stands by UNPROFOR Commander Gen. Satish Nambiar and head of the UNPROFOR civilian affairs Cedric Thornberry that the Republic of Croatia carried out an aggression against the RSK.

RSK representatives said the attack was also a blow in the face of the U.N. as one of the U.N. protected areas had been attacked.

They said the conflict might spread unless the Croatian aggression was stopped.

RSK President Goran Hadzic told reporters after a meeting with an UNPROFOR delegation the RSK was ready to respond by firing at Zagreb if Croatian attacks did not cease.

UNPROFOR Rejects Complicity Charge

LD2401120393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1142 GMT 24 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] January 24 (TANJUG)—The Zagreb office of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) has rejected claims in some public media that UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] had been an accomplice in Croatia's aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina, proclaimed in 1991 in Serb populated areas within the administrative borders of Croatia.

"Allegations and allusions in certain media to the effect that UNPROFOR had prior notice of the Croatian action and, even, that it had somehow given it prior approval, are wholly devoid of truth," UNPROFOR spokesman Shannon Boyd said in a statement given to TANJUG late on Saturday [23 January] evening.

The Croatian Army on the morning of January 22 attacked the Republic of Serb Krajina, which has been under protection of the UNPROFOR since March 1992, and seized the eastern bank of the Maslenica cove, near the Maslenica bridge which joins the Croatian coast with the hinterland, located in Krajina territory. The Croatian authorities refused to heed the request of the U.N. Security Council to withdraw their forces to the positions they had occupied before the attack.

Boyd said that the question of the reconstruction of the Maslenica bridge, which was the objective of the Croatian armed attack on the U.N. protected areas, was the subject of joint meetings of the Croatian and Krajina authorities which were organized by UNPROFOR.

Boyd said that it had been agreed that a new high-level meeting would be held in Maslenica on January 21, which was to discuss the reconstruction of the Maslenica bridge, the Peruca dam and the Obrovac power plant.

"Late in the evening of January 20, the Serb side asked for a postponement of the meeting from 21 until 22 January so that they could study the final agenda and make necessary preparations," Boyd said and added that Croatian Vice-Premier Milas had replied that it would be impossible to hold the meeting on January 22 and proposed January 23 as the new date. Boyd said that Croatia's unilateral resort to force took place even before the UNPROFOR could inform the Serb side about this proposal.

Underscoring that the UNPROFOR had observed substantial military movements on the Croatian side of the ceasefire line during the past two weeks, Boyd said that UNPROFOR force commander on January 18 called on Croatian Army Chief of Staff General Bobetko "to exercise maximum restraint," and deputy chief of the U.N. mission in Yugoslavia Cedric Thornberry on January 19 conveyed to the Croatian Government that the authorities in Knin were concerned about this problem.

Expressing, on behalf of UNPROFOR, deep concern about the renewed hostilities, Boyd said that a ceasefire and the return of the Croatian forces to their earlier positions must be achieved as soon as possible.

UN Commander Warned Tudjman

LD2201234293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2244 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 22 (TANJUG)—Commander of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Yugoslavia

Satish Nambiar said on Friday [22 January] he had warned Croatian President Franjo Tudjman that he would risk ruining a year of peacekeeping efforts in Krajina unless his forces withdrew behind the truce line.

The Croatian Army on Friday morning attacked the southern sector of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, which is under U.N. protection.

Nambiar called the Croatian attack a 'unilateral action,' adding that the U.N. forces 'are doing the best they can to make sure the situation does not get out of control.' Nambiar said in an interview to the internal UNPROFOR TV station that Tudjman had told him the operation was limited to securing the area around the Maslenica Bridge to enable its reconstruction and setting up a pontoon, the news agency REUTERS reported.

Nambiar said 'this hard position has obviously provoked the Serbs,' adding that they had seized heavy weapons from an UNPROFOR depot in Krajina to fight against the Croatian forces which broke through the truce line.

The Krajina authorities urged UNPROFOR to stop the Croatian aggression until 1:05 p.m. local time or otherwise, as they said, the RSK would defend itself.

Nambiar Postpones Belgrade Visit

LD2501102593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1008 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 25 (TANJUG)—United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) commander, General Satish Nambiar, has cancelled his news conference in Belgrade on Monday [25 January].

TANJUG learned from UNPROFOR in Belgrade that General Nambiar had to postpone his trip to Belgrade due to the current situation, and is still in UNPROFOR Headquarters in Zagreb.

There was great interest in Belgrade in Nambiar's news conference following Friday's attack of the Croatian Army on the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina, which is a U.N. protected area (UNPA).

Party of Rights-Government 'Showdown' Reported

LD2301195593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1831 GMT 23 Jan 93

["Explosions in Zagreb?": TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—Certain Croatian local radio stations and radio hams, whose programs and conversations were monitored today in Belgrade, have reported that since this morning loud explosions have been heard in parts of Zagreb, accompanied by sporadic small arms fire.

A member of the top leadership of Dobroslav Paraga's [Croatian] Party of Rights [Hrvatska Stranka Prava], who wanted to remain anonymous, confirmed in these conversations that early this morning a fierce armed showdown between members of this party and government forces began.

TANJUG Reports Tudjman Assassination Attempt

LD2201183193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1603 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—This morning's aggression by the Croatian armed forces against the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) on the Stari Grad-Obrovac and Zadar-Benkovac fronts began after heavy artillery support, and involved the use of tanks, a statement from the general staff of the Krajina forces, the RSK ministries of internal affairs and defense says.

Simultaneously with the start of the general offensive at 0800, an air alert was sounded in all towns of southern Dalmatia.

Taking part in the attack against the above lines, the statement says, are the 4th and 112th brigades of the National Guard Corps, and along the Sibenik-Split-Knin line the Croatian Army is drawn up in several brigades.

The statement confirms reports of action by the Croatian armed forces against members of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], a battalion from the contingent of French forces, near Maslenica. So far, there are no details of possible casualties or wounded among the blue helmets. The Croatian side, the statement claims, is carrying out intense propaganda, calling on members of the peacekeeping forces to go over to their side, which is not succeeding.

In the wider region south of Drnis, the Croatian armed forces have been given the order to advance toward Drnis and Knin, and, the statement adds, Croatia is also mobilizing and grouping its forces in the area of western Slavonia.

According to assertions made in the statement, the mobilization of the Croatian Army in southern Dalmatia has been unsuccessful. It also claims that there are "serious divisions in the Croatian Assembly and General Staff," that there has even been an attempted assassination of Franjo Tudjman, and that a "purge" is taking place in the General Staff.

The statement claims that the commander of the Split operational zone, Brigadier Mate Videka, has already been dismissed and that he has been replaced by Brigadier Ante Gotovina.

The RSK government has sent a protest to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and the UN Security Council in connection with the attack.

The statement ends with the assessment that this morning's aggression by the Croatian forces against the RSK is not only an attack on its territory and the Serbian nation,

but also against the territory under the protection of the UNPROFOR forces and these forces themselves.

The Krajina government has also issued a statement that stresses that it had warned representatives of UNPROFOR of the buildup of Croatian troops in the border area. However, as has been seen, this was played down by Cedric Thornberry, who offered talks between the opposing sides and justified the concentration of the Croatian forces on their grounds of alleged exercises.

The Krajina government also stresses that in Benkovac there are already 2,000 refugees from Serbian villages, which bore the brunt of the attack by the Croatian forces. There are as yet no official details on eventual casualties. A general mobilization has been proclaimed throughout Krajina.

Ship Carrying Arms to Croats Reported Stopped

LD2401083593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0707 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—NATO ships controlling the naval blockade in the Adriatic have stopped a Croatian ship with arms and military equipment sent from Rijeka to help Croatian troops in the Zadar region, the Iskra agency reported, quoting sources in the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] Government. The Croatian ship with arms and equipment was forced to return to Rijeka, Iskra said, recalling the fact that some of the troops taking part in the latest aggression against the RSK were from Rijeka.

Radio Reports Tudjman's Talks With Izetbegovic

LD2201230993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman received Bosnia-Hercegovina President Alija Izetbegovic at his request in the presidential palace tonight.

Izetbegovic was accompanied by Bosnia-Hercegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic and Brigadier Jasmin Jaganjac. According to a statement from the president's office, they discussed the need to maintain friendly relations and cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The meeting was attended by Jure Radic, head of the president's office, and Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak.

Babic on Milosevic, Tudjman Secret Plan

93BA0487A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 92 pp 54-57

[Interview with Milan Babic, leader of Serbian Krajina, by Svetislav Spasojevic; date and place not given: "Milan Babic: Battle for Krajina (2): Tailors of Destiny"—first paragraph is NIN introduction]

[Text] Are the Serbian lands in the former Croatia, as Mr. Milan Babic says, a subject of bartering between Belgrade and Zagreb? How much truth is there to the allegation that Mr. Slobodan Milosevic has used his own concern for the fate of Serbs in Krajina, and the concern of the party that he heads, in the public arena as an electoral argument, while working behind the backs of the Serbian people, in a secret agreement with Mr. Franjo Tudjman, to hand the Serbian lands over to the Zagreb regime? And finally, who is responsible for implementing this agreement?

Unfortunately for Serbs in Krajina (and the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina]), official Belgrade, in Mr. Babic's opinion, is unwilling to confront the entirety of the Serbian question that was raised by the disintegration of Yugoslavia. Serbs "across the Drina" offer a simple or complex state community that completely resolves the Serbian national question. The Belgrade regime is shunning this like the plague and only verbally supports a pan-Serbian solution. The majority of opposition leaders dare not even mention this issue, much less propose some solution. Those who do not realize that resolving the Serbian question by creating a Serbian state is on the agenda and who reduce everything to a party struggle for naked power within the given, Brozian, communist borders are no match for the historic task.

In this continuation of our interview, Mr. Babic talks about the behind-the-scenes games surrounding the Hague Document and the Vance Plan. He has remained true to his attitude that the acceptance of these documents represents a defeat for Serbs outside "Horgos-to-Dragas, AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]" Serbia. He blames this catastrophic mistake mostly on President Milosevic and his aides, Branko Kostic, Borisav Jovic, Blagoje Adzic.... However, he also does not excuse the indifference demonstrated by the majority of opposition leaders toward this issue at the time when these documents were adopted.

Mr. Babic reiterates that the political leadership in Belgrade and Podgorica have neglected authentic national and state goals. The basis of Babic's narrative is a brutal reminder of how high the price of the passions known as power are, saying that the Serbs in the borderlands have already paid that price, while the motherland "enjoys the blessings of a false peace."

[Spasojevic] Besides you, Mr. Babic, the leader of Montenegro, Mr. Bulatovic, has also not accepted orders from Belgrade?

[Babic] We are not familiar with the details of the Milosevic-Bulatovic relationship. It seems to me that the plan was for everyone to accept the Vance Plan without objection, so that Serbia remains alone and in this way its leadership is "compelled" to adopt it, or rather it has

no other choice. We were unable to accept that. Sometime I will show you the papers containing all the different versions offered us, drawn up by the Serbian Presidency.

[Spasojevic] Who was involved in that besides Mr. Milosevic? I assume that it has been impossible to do anything without him in Serbia over the past five years.

[Babic] An expert group participating in their formulation.

[Spasojevic] This is the group that negotiated with Tudjman's experts at Oplenac and Tuskanac (Zagreb).

[Babic] Yes, some of them—Vladan Kutlesic, Kosta Mihailovic, and Smilja Avramov. These proposals fit in with the proposal by the European Community that Yugoslavia be broken up into republics and that our question be resolved as a minority question in Croatia. To put it simply, in those papers, which were drawn up in Belgrade, the elements of special status for the Serbian minority in Croatia were defined. The maximum that was provided for was cultural autonomy and local self-administration. We did not agree to that. Then, for the second time, an attempt was made to provoke armed conflict in Krajina.

[Spasojevic] On the one side there is you, with your people....

[Babic] And on the other side are those who got their assignment from Belgrade....

[Spasojevic] To get rid of you and to support special status for Krajina within Croatia?

[Babic] Yes. After they failed to provoke armed conflict and change the government by force, a new solution was found: UN military involvement. That is the real beginning of the realization of the Vance Plan. The task of the United Nations was to disarm Krajina and forcibly push it into Croatia.

[Spasojevic] Can I conclude from all this that at a certain moment the EC and Mr. Milosevic had the same approach toward the status of Krajina?

[Babic] Unfortunately, that appears to be the case.

[Spasojevic] And that means: Krajina exclusively within the framework of Croatia and nothing more than that. Thus, cultural autonomy at the most.

[Babic] That is correct.

[Spasojevic] With regard to Knin-Zagreb relations, what is the minimum below which you could not go?

[Babic] Only an equal, neighborly relationship between Krajina and Croatia is possible, i.e., between the state of Serbs and the state of Croats.

[Spasojevic] That means completely and permanently separated from the former Croatian state?

[Babic] The territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] was never part of the Croatian state. That region was part of the Yugoslav state. Upon the disintegration of Yugoslavia, as we know, new states were created, among them the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

[Spasojevic] Under no circumstances autonomy within Croatia?

[Babic] Just as you say.

[Spasojevic] There is talk of the possibility that the "blue helmets" may leave. Do you know anything more about that, and are there fears about this in Krajina?

[Babic] After the signal was given from Belgrade, many people in the Assembly in Glina simply competed during February of this year to see who would be the first to propose that the Vance Plan be accepted in its entirety. Now these same people are the governing authorities in Krajina. At the time, they did not know or, more precisely, they did not want to know what they were accepting. And they accepted all the weaknesses of that plan and all the ambiguities in it that we had pointed out to them. And now, one of those weaknesses—the departure of the "blue helmets" without the prior consent of the RSK authorities—is turning into a real possibility. Clearly, the departure of the "blue helmets" under these conditions would be a signal for Croatia to attack demilitarized Krajina. In practice that means that Serbs from Krajina would once again be forced to wage war, but this time under unfavorable conditions, both politically and militarily. Although with fewer mistakes in Yugoslavia, the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]....

[Spasojevic] As far as I can remember, no one was as persistent as you were in pointing out the dangers present in the Vance Plan.

[Babic] Up until the session of the Yugoslav Presidency, all the presidents of the opstinas and members of the government had the same stance as I. In December 1991, the Assembly unanimously rejected this version of the plan, while in Glina, through his associates, Mr. Milosevic brought in part of the deputies, declared them a qualified majority, and simply forced those people to accept the Vance Plan completely and unconditionally. And the plan stated clearly that the JNA must withdraw from Krajina, that territorial defense must be disarmed, that the police can only carry side arms, meaning pistols, that the composition of the police must have the national structure that it had before the conflict.... Besides this, the plan specified which opstinas were to be in zones under the protection of UN forces.

The plan provided for UN forces coming to various regions of Croatia. Although this was completely unacceptable to Serbs, the vice president of the Presidency, Branko Kostic, insisted upon this. He incessantly repeated the phrase "completely and unconditionally." In this way, in a large part of the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, 55,000 Serbs who live here were given a different status, a much more uncertain one than

if the peacekeeping forces had been deployed according to the principle of a green line. Those areas were later called pink zones. They make up one-third of the area of the former SAO [Serbian Autonomous Region of] Krajina.

[Spasojevic] In Serbia, it is not completely clear what the pink zones are. Please tell us a little more about that.

[Babic] The so-called pink zones are that part of the free territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina for which UN protection is not provided. Under the Vance Plan, only the opstinas of Knin, Benkovac, Obrovac, Gracac, Donji Lapac, Korenica, Slunj, Vojnic, Vrginmost, Glina, Petrinja, Dvor na Uni, and Kostajnica are included in the territory of the former SAO Krajina—and that within the borders from the era of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. In other words, under this plan Serbian villages that previously belonged to other opstinas (for example, those that belonged to the opstinas of Ogulin, Zadar, Sibenik, Senj, Duga Resa...) and whose populations have expressed by referendum their desire to join one of the opstinas in Krajina are not included. These parts comprise a unified region of Krajina. This is the area of Vrlika, Petrovo Polje, Drnis, Skradinsko Zaledje, Bratiskovci, Bribir, Smokovik, Donji Zemunik, Novigradsko More, Medak, Teslingrad, Vrhovine, Plaski, Perjasica, Krnjak, Sjenicak, Jasenovcani, Sas, and Raduse.... This is a purely ethnically Serbian region, and at that time it was already a politically and administratively constituent part of the former SAO Krajina, and earlier it belonged to the Military Frontier when it was part of Austria.

It is precisely because of this that I twice insisted during meetings with Mr. Marrack Goulding that the peacekeeping forces be deployed along the line of conflict between the belligerent sides, which would have meant that the question of "pink zones" would not have even come up, because they would have been on the Serbian side of the line.

[Spasojevic] Did you explain all this with the help of maps drawn in detail?

[Babic] Yes. The last time that Mr. Marrack Goulding was in Knin, that was at the end of January 1992, I gave him a map for every opstina on which all the villages were indicated that should be in the zone under UN protection. At the time, he asked me where I was born. When I answered that I was born in Vrlika, he came back with another question: "How did you end up in Krajina?" Specifically, under the Vance Plan Vrlika is outside the protected area. I told him that the line dividing Serb and Croat forces, or rather the demarcation line between Krajina and Croatia in this region, is at Peruca near the Peruca hydroelectric power plant, and that Vrlika is deep inside Krajina.

One of the reasons that the proposals by the Krajinan side have been completely ignored is that as early as November 1991, Mr. Milosevic agreed to the Vance Plan in our name. We simply had to confirm his decision. Aware of the negative consequences, we insisted on a modification of that plan. Those who accepted the Vance Plan "completely and unconditionally," and they are the current ruling team in Krajina, are completely and unconditionally responsible for the existence of the "pink zones."

Two other reasons why the Vance Plan was not acceptable without modifications were: the definition of protected areas as regions in Croatia, which prejudices a political solution, and the demilitarization of only one side—the Serb side—while the other, Croat, side remains armed, which represents a constant threat to the peace to which we are devoted.

[Spasojevic] You say that you had detailed maps. Did Mr. Milosevic have these maps before everything was drawn out in the Vance Plan? Did Mr. Jovic and the then-rump Presidency know this? Did the JNA know about it?

[Babic] I presented the problem in its entirety to Milosevic. I presented all my objections, for example, about how the territory of the former SAO Krajina was defined as Sector North and Sector South, when that was unified territory. He promised that this would be a unified area. Afterwards, however, that was not stated anywhere in the documents.

[Spasojevic] Am I mistaken when I say that the regime in Belgrade passed over all this superficially? There was no serious work on this whatsoever in Belgrade. Serbian intellectuals, experts on individual regions, were not consulted.

[Babic] As far as I know, no one was consulted.

[Spasojevic] In translation, therefore, amateur work with negative consequences.

[Babic] As far as Krajina is concerned, we knew exactly what was ours, what had been liberated.... We had studies, analyses, maps, complete documentation. We knew exactly what was Serbian territory, and what was Croatian. When Vance first came with his proposed plan to Krajina Office in Terazije, we drew out for him the exact territory of Krajina, down to the last town. We also pointed out the problem of Gorski Kotar and Zumberak, Serbian enclaves, as well as the problem of terror against Serbs in the cities of Croatia and other parts controlled by Croatian authorities.

[Spasojevic] It turns out that Mr. Vance was more seriously concerned with the question of Serbian borders than was the Serbian regime!

[Babic] Vance asked that we show him a map, which we did. The line of conflict between Serb and Croat armed forces was drawn out clearly on the map.

It should be emphasized that our position concerning the involvement of peacekeeping forces was that they be involved in two ways. The first way was their deployment at the line of conflict, or rather of demarcation, and

the second way related to protecting the following Serb regions in which Serbs were subjected to terror by the Croatian authorities: Daruvar, Podravska Slatina, part of Bjelovar, Garesnica, Grubisno Polje, or rather the part of Slavonia up to Nasice, Orahovica, up to Cepin, Budimci toward eastern Slavonia. Also indicated here were the region of Srpske Moravice, Gomirje, Dreznica in Gorski Kotar, Kosinje near Gospic, Sibuljina below Velebit.... This map was handed over to Vance.

[Spasojevic] Did you support the idea that elections be held in Krajina on the same day as in Serbia?

[Babic] It seems to me that the people who decide about that, and that is the responsibility of the current authorities in Belgrade, were not at all interested in holding elections there.

[Spasojevic] Is that because you have the best prospects of again becoming the top man in Krajina?

[Babic] Not only because of that. Such elections would definitively affirm Krajina as a state. That certainly does not suit those who accepted the Vance Plan, because in it the authorities in Krajina are reduced to local opstina bodies. The establishment in Belgrade did not want elections in Krajina on 20 December, because in that way we in Krajina would have shown our unity with the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] despite the fact that we are not formally a part of it. The "greater" Serbs were afraid that someone else in the world would have objected that they have "pretensions" on territory outside the FRY.

[Spasojevic] What is the standing of the current authorities in Krajina among the people?

[Babic] That government lacks all authority. It is maintained by sheer force, which is only partially known to the public.

[Spasojevic] Does that mean that the people are frightened?

[Babic] The people have been silenced.

[Spasojevic] How many people from Krajina are there in Serbia, or rather in the present-day Yugoslavia? Do you have an approximate figure?

[Babic] Well, around 200,000 people have fled from Krajina and Croatia to Serbia, the largest part of which have fled from Croatia. It is strange to me that the regime in Belgrade is offering benefits to people arriving in Serbia from Krajina. It was quite normal to care for those unfortunates who fled from Croatia and from the parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina occupied by Croats and Muslims. But it amazes me that they are caring for people who arrive from Serbian Krajina. Sometimes it even seems to me that they are encouraging arrivals, especially of specialists. As far as I know, many have left and have found work in Serbia, most often in Belgrade. To mention only one example of how the current "government" in Krajina behaves toward specialists: Several months ago in Korenica, an association was founded that included 20 specialists, people with a college education. Now only five of them are left.

[Spasojevic] I hear that you have called on His Holiness, Serbian Patriarch Pavle?

[Babic] Yes, several times.

[Spasojevic] What does the "Serbian holy man" say?

[Babic] Serbs actually have their own living saint. He has compassion for all of us, but he also instills in us the strength to persevere. I was deeply impressed by his words that "we must do as much as we can, but no less than that. If we do well, then God will help us."

Wherever in Krajina that I convey these words to the people, the people accept them as great encouragement and stimulus.

[Spasojevic] The patriarch supports the peace option. The same is true of Mr. Cosic. Can the unification of the Serbian lands, including the lands here in Krajina, be achieved through the peace option?

[Babic] From the very beginning, Serbs in Krajina have been in favor of a peaceful solution. The aggression by the Croatian authorities forced the Serbian nation in Krajina to find different forms of struggling for freedom. At this moment, when the Croat aggression has been halted temporarily, it can clearly be seen that the Serbs have no other goal than to realize their own national interests. Then as now, I think that a peaceful, democratic, and political way of realizing the Serbian interest is the most exemplary and most productive way. And that the question of whether the Serbian interest will be realized peacefully does not depend on us alone. Only a just solution to the Serbian question, both in Krajina and in the other parts of the Balkans where Serbs live, will bring a lasting peace. Anything else will expose us, and others, to great risks, and possibly a major tragedy.

[Spasojevic] Mr. Babic, can I conclude that you need Serbia, which will also enjoy the benefits of peace? Thus, a rich Serbia that will be able to help you economically to a greater extent?

[Babic] All Serbs need a rich Serbia in which peace prevails. Naturally such a Serbia is needed by Krajina as well. Our entire struggle to realize the Serbian interest in Krajina has presupposed the participation of Serbia in that historic undertaking. I will be personally happy if the phrasing of your question is rendered historically redundant by the unification of all Serbian lands in one democratic, free, and rich state community.

[Spasojevic] I assume that you do not find fault with Mr. Cosic, who has held talks with Mr. Tudjman?

[Babic] It is not the first time that I am telling you now that I am willing to negotiate with Tudjman on an equal basis. Thus, I see no reason why I would find fault with President Cosic for having talks with him. My objection

will be expressed toward anyone who does not support the interest of the Serbian nation in such negotiations. As far as I know, that has not happened thus far.

[Spasojevic] You have had the opportunity to speak frequently with Mr. Cosic and Mr. Milosevic. Do you think that Mr. Milosevic is a better and more important Serb than President Cosic, as he is depicted and as he also depicts himself?

[Babic] History will be the final judge of who is the better and more important Serb. Naturally, by no means do I wish to omit my judgment of him to the extent to which that is possible from the viewpoint of current political reality. Where he has come from and where he is going in realizing the Serbian national interest, it has not been easy for Slobodan Milosevic to maintain this orientation, this policy. The way in which he has done this and the results that he has achieved from that up to now are far from what was expected or possible. Respecting the Serbian interest today means most of all acknowledging the will of the Serbian nation, or rather recognizing the Serbian Republic and the Republic of Serbian Krajina. Thus far, Slobodan Milosevic has not done that.

It remains to be seen what Dobrica Cosic will do in that regard. If one were to judge from what Dobrica Cosic advocated as a writer and politician, one could expect that he would acknowledge the democratically expressed will of the Serbian nation in the Republic of Serbian Krajina and in the Serbian Republic by recognizing them. I think that missing that opportunity would raise questions about much of what we have thus far regarded as inopportune. It is probably obvious to everyone that it is unrealistic to expect that these two states will be recognized in Geneva before they are recognized in Belgrade.

[Spasojevic] Do you mean to say that Milosevic's primary goal was to remain in power, and not to worry about the fate of the Serbian nation?

[Babic] Well, that is how it turns out in the end. Because now, despite the fact that they had a great deal of confidence in him, Serbs in Krajina feel abandoned and deserted. Mr. Milosevic made inadmissible use of our misfortune in the preelection campaign.

(To be continued)

Federal

Cosic Statement Condemns Croat Attack on Krajina

AU2401205393 Pristina TVP Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Statement by Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic in Belgrade on 24 January—recorded]

[Text] We went to Geneva with a decision by the Assembly of the Serbian Republic to accept the main constitutional principles on the organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This decision was sensible and is contributing to peace, which is optimally constructive for the negotiating process at the Geneva conference.

Sacrificing certain political and military achievements and advantages, the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina have done everything they could toward ending the civil and religious war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, convinced that the cochairmen of the Geneva conference and the other two warring sides express the same will for justice and compromises concerning the maps and provinces, which could, with the urgent cessation of combat operations, lead to peace.

On the day we held the first plenary session in Geneva, however, Croatia carried out an attack against the Republic of Serbian Krajina, the territory that is under UN protection, the territory being protected by the UN Protection Force. At the same negotiating table there were the war aggressors—Croatian leaders—as well as representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, people who are victims of the Croatian aggression. There also were representatives of the Security Council and the EC. There was Cyrus Vance personally, a man who, with his function and political and moral authority, is a guarantee to the Serbian people in Croatia that the question of their survival will be resolved exclusively by political means on the universal principles of the realization of basic human and national rights, along with the guarantee by the United Nations.

On 22 January, Croatia did not just attack and burn down Islam Grcki and other villages in the border region of the Serbian Republic of Krajina; on 22 January, Croatia attacked the Palace of Nations in Geneva where peace negotiations were being held. On 22 January, Croatia attacked the Security Council and the United Nations. On 22 January, Croatia tore up the Vance plan and the decisions of the London conference.

With its aggression, Croatia has seriously endangered all peace efforts in Geneva and has put a question mark over the possibility of the further peaceful completion of Yugoslavia's disintegration and its state-political rearrangement. Croatia has ignited the Yugoslav agony with inflammable war energy and has completely sundered the normalization of political, economic, and communication links among the states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people have found themselves in a very difficult position today. They are, indeed, facing a real crucial test. I understand this test to be a challenge for us to again confirm our historical maturity, our responsibility for peace and the political consolidation of the Yugoslav and Balkan region, for our readiness to further cooperate with the peace-loving and democratic forces in the world community.

For this extremely difficult act, we need political wisdom, freedom-loving courage, rational thinking in making all decisions, and the patience of the strong before making any decisions. Our first intention is immediately and again to approach the Security Council and ask it to undertake energetic measures to stop Croatia's aggression. Only with an energetic stand and action toward Croatia's aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina can the international community and its appropriate forum—the Security Council—as well as major democratic countries, confirm their adherence to peace and to the basic values of our civilization.

At this moment, I would like to assure the citizens of Yugoslavia that the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will do everything possible in its power to stop the Croatian aggression and to defend the Serbian people in the Republic of Serbian Krajina, convinced that its peaceful efforts will be supported by democratic and peace-loving nations of the world community.

Cosic Sends Message to Clinton

LD2501103993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1002 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic last night sent a personal message to U.S. President Bill Clinton, TANJUG learned in the office of the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The immediate cause for the message is the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

Djukic Calls for UN Action

LD2401204093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1931 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Federal Foreign Minister Ilija Djukic today told representatives of the five UN Security Council permanent members that the FRY, as a signatory of the Vance plan, feels obliged to react to the Croatian aggression and obliged to protect the attacked areas and the Serbian population living there.

Immediately upon his return from Geneva, Federal Minister Djukic this afternoon summoned diplomatic representatives of the Security Council permanent members to inform them about the Yugoslav stand on the situation created by the Croatian Armed Forces' action on the territory under UN protection.

The minister stressed that Yugoslavia's legal obligation is to take care of the Serbian nation, its position, and its rights. In this respect, the FRY is ready for the closest cooperation with the UN Security Council, which it expects to take immediately the most resolute measures with regard to the withdrawal of the regular army of the Republic of Croatia from the pink zones [UN-controlled territory] and the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Minister Djukic told the ambassadors and charges d'affaires of the UN Security Council's five permanent members that through the attack launched by its armed forces on Serbian civilians and UN Protection Forces, the Republic of Croatia clearly has shown that it is not interested in finding a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis, and that it is consciously and purposely violating agreements reached under UN auspices. The aggression is directed against Cyrus Vance's plan, the decisions of the London conference, and the peace negotiations in Geneva. The aggression also brings into question the Security Council's decisions and violates the basic principles of the UN Charter.

The FRY demands a most urgent session of the Security Council, which should take measures immediately to end the aggression and restore the situation prior to the attack, Minister Djukic said. This would make possible the unhindered continuation of the peace talks in Geneva, in which the FRY is vitally interested.

Minister Djukic asked the diplomatic representatives to inform their governments about this as soon as possible.

Duty To Protect Serbs Reiterated

LD2201231393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2217 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 22 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] has the unalienable right and duty to, with all available means, protect the Serbian people from destruction and enable it to, in conditions of brutal aggression, successfully protect its living space and biological survival, said responsible circles in Belgrade on Friday [22 January] following Croatia's military action in the region of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK).

The same sources told TANJUG on Friday night there were grave indications that Croatia was planning a general military action and that it was probably just a question of time when its army would, with all its might attack, the lives and territory of Serbs in Krajina, which is under the protection of the United Nations Protection Force.

In case of a large-scale aggression, the army of Yugoslavia will not be able to stand by and one of its first duties will be to protect the Serbian people in times of its greatest suffering and struggle for survival, circles in Belgrade said.

Analyzing the situation, well-informed circles link the Croatian military action with the Moslem attacks on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as with preparations for a new package of sanctions and threats voiced by some foreign politicians over the past few days.

All this is taking place at a time when the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia once again showed its readiness for cooperation and peace. Thus, the synchronized actions against the Serbian people are seen in Belgrade as an attempt to undermine Yugoslavia's policy and thwart a peaceful outcome of the Balkan drama.

The same circles saw the immediate reaction of the United Nations and condemnation of the Croatian side as encouraging, but at the same time recalled that the gravity of Croatia's aggressive acts had often been minimized and that international reactions had mainly been verbal in nature. Thus, the circles believe that an impending new tragedy in the former Yugoslavia should be prevented by taking concrete steps against Croatia.

If this does not happen and if Moslem armed provocations on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia continue, a possible reaction by the Yugoslav Armed Force would be completely legitimate, the circles in Belgrade said.

General Charges UNPROFOR Complicity

LD2401170393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Colonel General Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, today informed United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Commander Satish Nambiar that the latest developments require Yugoslavia to carry out the obligations it assumed by accepting the Vance plan, which implied protecting the Serb population on the territories under the control of the blue helmets [UN soldiers].

The following is the text of the letter Gen. Panic sent to Col. Gen. Nambiar, UNPROFOR commander:

"Esteemed Mr. General,

"1. I have been informed that at the time of Croatia's aggression against the Republic of Serb Krajina—or rather the area under UN protection—UNPROFOR behaved in contravention of, and for the most part inappropriately to their main function and to the detriment of the Serb side. A group of terrorists from the ranks of the Croatian Army which set up an ambush in the Alan Pass was allowed to pass two UNPROFOR checkpoints. When the terrorist group attacked a group of fighters of the Republic of Serb Krajina, members of UNPROFOR did not allow a separate group of fighters from the Republic of Serb Krajina to use an armored vehicle to help the group being attacked.

"In addition, the UNPROFOR members did not allow, nor did they want to help, the evacuation of the dead and the wounded. During this incident, the terrorists killed

and massacred 21 fighters of the Republic of Serb Krajina. As soon as the attack was launched, the group of UN members responsible for the security of Zemunik airport not only went over to the Croatian side, but also sent false information that it was at the airport in Zemunik. A team at the checkpoint near the village of Rovanjska took no measures to stop the Croatian Army attack, and by its conduct even encouraged the Croatian forces that were attacking Rovanjska.

"It is the commander of the French battalion in Gracac—with his pro-Croat orientation and whose partiality is being paid for by the Serb nation and the lives of its fighters—who is behind the conduct of the UN forces. In view of the fact that such behavior is in opposition to the main requirement that UN members, and especially its commanding personnel, remain neutral and objective, I expect the French commander to be withdrawn from his position. At the same time, I wish to stress that the members of the Kenyan battalion courageously withstood attacks by Croatian artillery and that the commander of the south sector said that if needed, the Peruca hydroelectric power plant would be defended with weapons.

"2. In his letter to the UN Security Council president, the FRY president noted that Yugoslavia had accepted the Vance plan in light of guarantees that UNPROFOR would protect the Serb population in the territories under UN protection. At the same time, Yugoslavia took on the obligation to offer help and protection to the Serb population if the UN peace forces failed to provide them. Accordingly, I wish to inform you that the latest developments require that we fulfill that obligation, especially since the Croatian side has shown no intention of complying with the UN Security Council resolution and of withdrawing to the cease-fire line, and instead is bringing in and concentrating fresh forces as an indication of an attempt to escalate the conflict.

"To this end, Croatia has deployed another six to eight brigades in the attack in the south sector. Croatia also has been concentrating forces in Eastern Slavonia, threatening to launch an aggression against the east sector. Forces also are being concentrated in the region of Konavli [northeast of Dubrovnik] with the most likely goal of launching an offensive in the direction of Trebinje and of attacking the UN-protected isthmus of Prevlaka.

"In view of the current situation, I wish to inform you that we will take measures in the coming period to provide humanitarian and any other form of help for the imperiled Serb population. At the same time, we insist on our demand that UNPROFOR execute its mission and ensure that the Vance plan is being observed," Col. Gen. Panic, chief of the general staff of the Yugoslav Army, said in his letter to Gen. Nambiar, commander of UNPROFOR in former Yugoslavia.

Protesters Picket UNPROFOR Building

LD2301204293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1656 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Belgrade, Jan 23 (TANJUG)—At least 2,000 people in Belgrade protested on Saturday [23 January] morning in front of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] building here over an aggression launched by the ex-Yugoslav republic Croatia on the UNPROFOR-protected republic of Serb Krajina (RSK).

In their letter to U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, the protesters were embittered by UNPROFOR's allowing Croatian forces to pass through their ranks and attack Serb people on Friday.

RSK Interior Minister Slobodan Jarcevic, academy member Milorad Ekmecic, and leaders of the Serbian Democratic Party told the United Nations that the Serbian people, too, had the right to be protected from aggression and the right to living freely.

None of the UNPROFOR representatives showed up at this protest. [passage omitted]

Troops Offered to UN Security Council

LD2401221793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2141 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 24 (TANJUG)—The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) was prepared to place its troops at the disposal of the UN Security Council if for technical reasons it was not in a position immediately to protect the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), which is under UN protection, from Croatia's aggression.

A letter of Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister Radoje Kontic sent on Sunday [24 January] to the current president of the UN Security Council said the FRY was, as so far, prepared to most closely cooperate with the Security Council in frustrating this and any such aggression.

As signatory to the plan of Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN secretary general, the FRY was responsible and obliged to energetically act and protect the RSK and its population, Kontic said.

The year old plan places under UN protection the state creation of Serbs within the administrative boundaries of the breakaway Yugoslav federal unit of Croatia.

Kontic requested of the Council president Yoshio Hatano of Japan to call an urgent session at which the Croatian aggression would strongly be condemned, and Croatia's troops told to immediately cease war activity and return to former positions.

The letter also said the Croatian aggression warranted the Council's urgent reaction and adoption of such decisions as would "in a way envisaged by the UN Charter, especially Chapter 7," punish the aggressor accordingly.

Kontic set out that Croatia was ignoring the Council's warnings to stop aggression and withdraw its troops to the positions they held previously. Instead, the Croatian forces were sending in additional troops, tanks and heavy artillery, Kontic said.

Pointing out the proportions of the aggression Kontic noted that the Croatian assault, which began on Friday morning, resulted in over 500 dead Serb civilians and around 150 militiamen, and that there were several hundred wounded too.

At this time, not even UNPROFOR was safe from insolent Croatian aggression, concluded the Yugoslav deputy prime minister.

Cosic Makes Statement on Return From Talks

AU2401205393 Pristina TVP Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Statement by Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic in Belgrade on 24 January—recorded]

[Text] We went to Geneva with a decision by the Assembly of the Serbian Republic to accept the main constitutional principles on the organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This decision was sensible and is contributing to peace, which is optimally constructive for the negotiating process at the Geneva conference.

Sacrificing certain political and military achievements and advantages, the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina have done everything they could for ending the civil and religious war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, convinced that the cochairmen of the Geneva conference and the other two warring sides express the same will for justice and compromises concerning the maps and provinces, which could, with the urgent cessation of combat operations, lead to peace.

However, on the day we held the first plenary session in Geneva, Croatia carried out an attack against the Republic of Serbian Krajina, the territory that is under UN protection, the territory that is being protected by the UN Protection Force. At the same negotiating table, there were the war aggressors, Croatian leaders, representatives of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, people who are victims of the Croatian aggression, and representatives of the Security Council and EC. There was Cyrus Vance [cochairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia] personally, a man who, with his function and political and moral authority, is a guarantee to the Serbian people in Croatia that the question of their survival will exclusively be resolved with political means on the universal principles of the realization of basic human and national rights, along with the guarantee by the United Nations.

On 22 January, Croatia did not only attack and burn down Islam Grcki and other villages in the border region of the Serbian Republic of Krajina. On 22 January, Croatia attacked the Palace of Nations in Geneva where peace negotiations were being held. On 22 January, Croatia attacked the Security Council and the United Nations. On 22 January, Croatia tore up the Vance plan and the decisions of the London conference.

With its aggression, Croatia has seriously endangered all peace efforts in Geneva and put a question mark over the possibility of the further peaceful completion of Yugoslavia's disintegration and its state-political rearrangement. Croatia has ignited the Yugoslav agony with inflammable war energy and completely moved apart the normalization of political, economic, and communication links among the states on the territory of the former Yugoslavia.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Serbian people have found themselves in a very difficult position today. They are indeed facing a real crucial test. I understand this test to be a challenge for us to again confirm our historical maturity, our responsibility for peace and the political consolidation of the Yugoslav and Balkan region, for our readiness to further cooperate with the peace-loving and democratic forces in the world community.

For this extremely difficult act, we need political wisdom, freedom-loving courage, rational thinking in making all decisions, and the patience of the strong before making any decisions. Our first intention is to immediately and again approach the Security Council and ask it to undertake energetic measures to stop Croatia's aggression. Only with an energetic stand and action toward Croatia's aggression on the Serbian republic of Krajina can the international community and its appropriate forum, the Security Council, as well as major democratic countries, confirm their adherence to peace and basic values of our civilization.

At this moment, I would like to assure the citizens of Yugoslavia that the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will do everything possible in its power to stop the Croatian aggression and defend the Serbian people in the Serbian republic of Krajina, convinced that its peaceful efforts will be supported by democratic and peace-loving nations of the world community.

Muslim Attacks Reportedly 'Thwarted' by Army

LD2401180093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1729 GMT 24 Jan 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 24 (TANJUG)—The Army of Yugoslavia (VJ) said on Sunday [24 January] it took "substantial measures to defend the integrity of the FRY and the lives of the Yugoslav population" in the border area, following frequent attacks on the FR Yugoslavia by the Muslim forces from the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The Yugoslav Army has thwarted all Muslim attacks and provocations, and destroyed their combat positions, weapons and equipment, the VJ information service said in a statement.

It also liquidated 42 Muslim terrorists.

On Saturday, the VJ liquidated 11 Muslim terrorists infiltrated into the Yugoslav territory near the border with Bosnia-Hercegovina, the statement said. However, it added, Muslim commando-terrorist groups continued attempts to enter the Yugoslav territory.

The Muslim forces in eastern Bosnia opened infantry and artillery fire in the direction of Yugoslavia and its troops 22 times in the past ten days, the statement said.

Three terrorist groups tried to infiltrate into Yugoslavia, which proves that the "Muslim armed forces do not abandon their intentions to drag the FRY into the war and establish the so-called green corridor," it added.

The "green corridor," which is to link the Muslim-populated parts of the Balkans with Turkey, is to cover the Serbian region of Sandzak, the Serbian Province of Kosovo and Metohija, Macedonia, Albania and parts of Bulgaria.

According to the VJ, the Muslim forces on Saturday night and Sunday continued armed provocations and violations of Yugoslavia's territorial integrity.

They also continued to concentrate fresh troops from the eastern Bosnian town of Gorazde and other directions along the left bank of the Drina River, the statement said.

A large number of Serb civilians were killed in an intensified Muslim offensive in eastern Bosnia in the past several days.

Army Destroys 'Terrorist' Group

LD2301184893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1709 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—Sources close to the Yugoslav Army General Staff reported that Yugoslav Army units eliminated a Muslim armed forces sabotage-terrorist group in the Rudo area, on the territory of the FRY, between 0400 and 0500 this morning.

The same source said that 11 members of the group were killed and that a search began to find the 12th one. A large quantity of arms and equipment of foreign origin was found on the bodies of the terrorists.

Bosnian 'Commando' Members Killed

AU2301182393 Paris AFP in English 1817 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 23 (AFP)—Eleven members of a Bosnian Moslem commando were killed Saturday [23 January] after they infiltrated into the territory of the rump Yugoslav republic of Serbia and Montenegro, TANJUG reported.

Quoting federal military sources, the Belgrade-based agency said the commando crossed the frontier into Serbia near the Serb-controlled Bosnian town of Rudo, 200 kilometres (120 miles) southwest of Belgrade.

A 12th member of the commando reportedly escaped.

Heavy fighting pitted Bosnian government forces against Serbs in the Drina valley, marking the border between Bosnia and Serbia, on Friday in a resurgence of fighting that observers believed was linked with Saturday's resumption of peace talks on Bosnia at Geneva.

Issue of Military Intervention Analyzed

93BA0489A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 93 p 10

[Article by Milos Vasic: "Getting a Running Start"]

[Text] The statement by Dr. Franjo Tudjman in Geneva (on Monday) that military intervention in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] should wait "until things become clear" was a surprise. Military intervention in Bosnia has been opposed—of all people who are not Serbs, the chosen people—by Dr. Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia! In what political context did this occur?

The outcome of the election in the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] obviously removed any further rethinking and reluctance concerning military intervention in the Balkans. All the most important colonists have spoken in agreement: OK, they had a chance to remove Milosevic peacefully and through an election, they did not do it, and what lies ahead now is the other way. "The results of the Serbian election," says THE NEW YORK TIMES, "have extinguished the hope that the Serbian dictator Milosevic could be removed peacefully by a vote. He will have to be forced by harsher measures to moderate the violence in Bosnia.... Contesting the legality of the election is no replacement for opposition to Mr. Milosevic by force." The WASHINGTON POST says that it does not matter whether Milosevic was brought to power by "Serbian hysteria or a Serbian deception": "He could become still more dangerous, relying on a new popular mandate to unify all the Serbs in a Great Serbia." The newspaper warns that Mr. Milosevic "could broaden this arrogant policy" to the southern part of the Balkans (Kosovo and Macedonia) and to Vojvodina; there has been speculation about such a development of events for weeks, and movements of Yugoslav troops in the direction of Kosovo tend to support them.

Hostages

The world was aware that any use of force in Bosnia-Hercegovina would be taken as aggression even before

the warnings to that effect from Dr. Radovan Karadzic and General Bosko Kelecevic of the Army of the Serbian Republic. Dr. Karadzic proclaimed the member countries of NATO "enemies of the Serbian people" and demanded that their forces in the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] be replaced by soldiers of "unprejudiced" countries. "Intervention would bring chaos," Dr. Karadzic has said, "over which we would not have control in the early going." The message is clear, but the leader of the Bosnian Serbs added something else: "I cannot imagine Serbs firing on their traditional allies, the Americans, the British, or French—but no one can control chaos, and anything can happen." Gen. Kelecevic was still clearer: "The soldiers of the United Nations will be treated like guardians of the peace until aggression occurs. If it occurs, we will treat them as aggressor forces."

The message was duly received. Gen. Satish Nambiar, UNPROFOR commander, aware of the danger, warned that the UN troops and their humanitarian mission would be "threatened" in the case of military intervention. The French (4,800 soldiers in the Balkans) and the British (2,500 soldiers) are demanding "a significant postponement" of any action—even tightening the ban on flights over B-H—obviously in order to gain time for preparations. In that context, we can confidently assume that movements of troops wearing "blue helmets" will be the best sign that intervention is coming: If they begin to concentrate toward the coast of the Adriatic and around secure airfields (Tuzla), in easily defended positions and larger groups—that means that they are preparing for resistance (the same applies to a sudden withdrawal of personnel of the humanitarian organizations). In that kind of scenario, the UN troops would be able to resist the powerful and announced attacks of the Serbian forces until they get reinforcements and air support. The Americans, incidentally, have already threatened to come to the aid of the "blue helmets" if they are attacked; one Western diplomat told the FINANCIAL TIMES that "a direct conflict of Serbia and Montenegro with the Security Council would have profound consequences for the Serbian people."

The troops of the UNPROFOR are something between hostages and the first wave which is supposed to hold the bridgehead until reinforcements arrive. Deployed the way they are, scattered all over, they are more like hostages; if they concentrate into larger formations—which could not go unnoticed—and if the Security Council decides that enough is enough, the possibility of bringing up reinforcements stands open. In case of an attack on the "blue helmets," the attacker is taking a very great political risk, and Dr. Radovan Karadzic (it seems) is more aware of that than certain generals: Following the Gulf War, an attack on forces flying the blue flag (especially if they are British, French, or—God forbid—U.S.) is no longer a small matter. With the present disposition of public and political opinion in the West, it would not take much....

Options

The whirlwind of various scenarios that has swirled through the Western press in the form of various "secret plans" is now slowly settling into a relatively flexible possible strategy which counts on all the elements and actors in the game. The U.S. generals Powell (chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) and Shalikashvili (commander of NATO forces) made such a flexible approach public last week: destroy the airfields from which the flight ban is being violated, arm the Bosnian forces and let them defend themselves, expand the UN aid operations to cities threatened with ethnic cleansing and use the aid operations to establish the armed presence of the United Nations—"security zones"—all over Bosnia. Translated into ordinary language, that means broad-scale military intervention.

Even this concept, which amounts to getting a rather good running start, is not without its internal contradictions. That is, the term "security zones" (safe havens) [given in English] does not go with arming the Bosnians: The Bosnian side—in the interpretation which Dr. Haris Silajdzic gave to VREME—is seeking weapons to restore sovereignty over its territory taken away by the Serbs and Croats: The term "safe havens" on the other hand has not been worked out, and it also excessively resembles unsuccessful past experience in the Vietnam War (strategic hamlets). That is, the safe havens under the protection of UN troops (or troops of NATO, it makes no difference) are inevitably defensive in nature: enclosure within a protected space and leaving the terrain to the adversary. Once armed, the Bosnians will not consent to anything like that. Their guerrilla operations in eastern and central Bosnia are already a big threat to the lives of the Serbs there, who have discovered that they are not numerous enough to hold onto all the territory they have taken, that they lack firepower (tanks, ammunition, air force, trucks), which was their main advantage. The promises of Gen. Zivota Panic have not been much help here: The Army of Yugoslavia is having its own problem with spare parts and materiel. Gen. Panic, for that matter, made a clear reservation: "...if their biological survival is threatened." "Biological survival" is one thing, and territory something else....

Croatian Policy

There is another detail that is not being given sufficient attention in the West—at least in the press: Croatia's possible role. Last week, there were reports about the very tardy movements of Croatian-Bosnian troops toward Sarajevo. We remind the reader of the assessments of many sources and people familiar with the situation, according to whom the siege of Sarajevo could have been broken back in June 1992 if only the Croatian forces (the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and ZNG [National Guard Corps]) had wanted it; Dr. Silajdzic gave us confirmation of that in Edinburgh. The HVO has been on Igman since June with heavy howitzers and from there it controls the Sarajevo basin (but also Pale, which is within their range), including—of course—all

the Serbian positions on the southern side of the siege (around the airport, Lukavica, Ilidza, etc.)—and beyond that.... If we go back a bit into the political past, the thing is clear: The Serbs and Croats got together and agreed (Karadjordjevo and Graz) on a fraternal division of Bosnia-Hercegovina between themselves—if possible.... Now that it is clear that it will not be easy, the Croatian regime is attempting to swim over to the right side and to be an ally of the West when the intervention comes. At the same time—with typical diplomatic nimbleness—they are planning to deceive the Sarajevo government twice: first, by helping the legal government of B-H they will be on the right side; and then, by breaking the siege of Sarajevo they will deprive that same legal government of the people of Sarajevo, who will rush headlong out of the city as soon as the siege is broken (which is more than understandable). Thus, Dr. Tudjman's regime will betray its allies, the Serbs, on behalf of richer and stronger allies—even if that means apologizing to the Muslims. Incidentally, Croatian nationalist ideology has traditionally recognized the Muslims as the "flower of the Croatian people," and so they are counting on getting out of an unpleasant situation in that way. In addition, belonging to the team of the good boys opens up an opportunity—in the general confusion that will ensue—of undertaking the long-prepared offensive to get back the territories lost in the war in 1991, on the pretext of "helping the allies."

Waiting for the Americans

This entire story, however, has to wait: First, Bill Clinton's administration has to take office and finally get rid of Bush and Eagleburger, who have had a great time pushing their successors into the Balkan mud; then they have to sit down at the table and reach an agreement with Europe on what they will do and how they will do it, at least two months will have passed before all that gets done. Which would bring us to March, when the mandate of the UNPROFOR runs out in Croatia; the intentions of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] regime can be judged from whether they seek withdrawal of the UN troops in March. The United States, meanwhile, is keeping silent.... The only elements for drawing conclusions are the appointments to the new administration. One analysis of a well-placed agency for defense and political analyses in the United States offers the following assessment of the appointment of Congressman Les Aspin to be the new secretary of defense: "Clinton has chosen a man of similar views.... Both support a wider conception of the use of military force in the post-Cold War world than the Bush administration and the Pentagon. Both have been critical of the inactivity of the United States in Bosnia, but they have not defined their ends and means in that regard." Les Aspin has good connections in the military, but he is not a good "political player" in the Congress. He will have problems with the military philosophy which got burned in Vietnam and now consents only to "conditions which guarantee success and the use of high technology, which is expensive, but reduces losses in American lives." "The question of use of the army in Bosnia," that analysis says, "will be the first decisive test of Aspin's political will and of his ability to win the loyalty of uniformed fighting men."

New U.S. administrations are well-known for their uncertainty and sensitivity in the first months of their power. This administration is in a still worse position than that of Harry Truman (if that is possible) and will be sensitive to public opinion. The British and French are aware of this: Both of them have made it quite clear that they will not get involved in Balkan affairs until the United States finally gives birth to a policy and "involves its troops to a significant extent," as one French official put it. "If the United States agrees to send troops, then the British will join in, and only then can we seriously plan to take control over sufficient territory in Bosnia and secure safe havens around Sarajevo and other cities," he says. "Otherwise, we will have a Palestinian situation in the middle of Europe."

Meanwhile, there are more and more attacks on the UN troops in Bosnia from all sides. Some see them as future "aggressors"; others are disappointed because they expected more of them; still others attack them here and there from afar, in hopes of getting one of the previous two sides blamed for it. This practice threatens one day to result in an unbearable provocation and to speed up military intervention to the point of unreasonableness. It would be good to avoid that: Moves which are forced are always worse and much more dangerous than those which have been planned, and here we are talking about lives.

Political Scene After Elections Viewed

93BA0465A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 93 p 6

[Article by [name indistinct]: "The End of the One-Party System"]

[Text] The finale of the Balkan election gave birth to a pathetic metaphor in its final section, in which the parties fought for opstina assemblies: In Dedevci near Kraljevo, Ljubisav beat Reagan.

Reagan is just the nickname of Vlastimir Vostinic, a candidate there for the opstina Assembly, and perhaps the fact that he was beaten by an opponent put forward by a group of individuals is not as important as the vote itself. Out of a possible 1,190 votes, Reagan from Dedevci did not get even one.

Even this example shows that to the greatest extent the elections were like a kind of referendum on who is a patriot, and judging by the general political climate in which all the political parties are saying that they are not losers, Vlastimir Reagan might affirm the same. Even he is a winner, if only for having taken part.

The Lesson: Party Cooperation

The inexorable figures, which indicate at least indirectly the political strength of angry political adversaries in the parliaments and opstina assemblies, show that there is no place for Coubertin logic even in politics here. No party was given a one-sided mandate to make up its government as it pleased. We are thus on the threshold of learning lessons about party cooperation. No party, that is, achieved the success of the Socialists in December 1990. Those times are obviously becoming history once and for all.

Because the Socialists are nevertheless a step ahead of the others (they have 101 deputies in the Serbian Assembly, and 47 in the parliament of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia]), they have had to offer cooperation in the form of a coalition to one of the parliamentary political groups. Under present circumstances, there are at the present no reliable announcements as to exactly what will happen.

Milomir Minic, general secretary of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia], recently restricted himself to the statement: "That the government will be made up easily and without major problems at both the republic and federal levels." He thus avoided saying anything more direct concerning speculations to the effect that a coalition between the Socialists and Radicals is very likely. Vojislav Seselj himself is understood to have said that the Radicals "will not evade responsibility if they receive such an offer, but neither will they seek portfolios at any price."

The reserved stance of representatives of both parties suggests the conclusion that even that is part of the agreement that will be finalized with nothing other than some kind of minority government of the Socialists. This is possible only if the Radicals assume the obligation not to bring down such a government, which has been announced as a possibility by Ivica Dacic, a member of the Executive Board of the SPS.

Another reason for the logic in this is that the Radicals actually have no other figures with public prestige except for Vojislav Seselj. Given that situation concerning personnel, they would have a hard time offering several individuals for membership in the cabinet.

At the same time, the question is what the political consequences would be for the SPS from a coalition with a party whose leader has promised that after he becomes part of the government he would arrest Panic and would favor a treaty with Croatia "for an exchange of population in a civilized way" between the two states?

Cooperation of the Socialists and DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia]?

Which makes things all the more delicate under the circumstances in which Seselj says that the Radicals remain an opposition party if they are not offered a coalition with the SPS. Asked what he would do if they do not become part of the government, Seselj said that the Radicals will try to take power ("ever since we formed the party, we have been thinking about how to take power"). The Socialists have good reason to believe these words of Seselj's, because his key political characteristic is consistency. Thus, even a minority government of the SPS is not altogether certain.

Finally, there is something which until recently was unthinkable—some kind of cooperation between the SPS and DEPOS. Which is not certain either, so that there is good reason to believe that we are entering upon the unstable times forecast by Dobrica Cosic.

The "victory" of the Socialists under these circumstances can be taken only as a Pyrrhic one. In the Serbian Assembly, they fell no fewer than 90 seats short of what they did in the 1990 election, and in the federal parliament a number of their seats was also cut almost in half.

The Socialists will thus "govern" with great difficulty. They will have to seek help on various sides, which again could be a reason for panic in the other parties, because positions close to the seat of power will be a potentially enticing reason for crossing over to join the Socialist caucus in the parliament. According to unverified reports, Vojislav Seselj has already guaranteed party discipline within his own deputy caucus, because its members have already submitted their resignations for him to pocket. Seselj will honor them when he deems it necessary.

Relations Within the Parties

There have been no similar voices from other parties, but we can expect that all that has happened will also have consequences for their internal relations.

They are saying in the opposition that the key danger to internal harmony in the ranks of the Socialists is actually the scenario of cooperation between the SPS and the Radicals. Many members of the Socialist Party would not be able to tolerate that connection, some of these observers calculate, and they are already counting on possible reinforcements from the ranks of Socialist deputies.

There is not going to be peace and harmony in the opposition parties either. With the exception of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS], which is really the only one to achieve success (after only half a year of its existence, it won some 20 seats in the Serbian Assembly), all the rest have stayed where they were or even lost ground.

The cooperation of the opposition during the election campaign, manifested above all in the creation of DEPOS, and then the cooperation of that movement with the other parties of similar political commitment, has now been left without its key motivation—the upcoming elections. Just as anticipated success in the

election brought them closer together, the experience of falling short of success will tend to drive the opposition parties apart.

This is usually a reason for drawing consequences, and this will not be unexpected if it is demanded even in the opposition. It is no secret that relations are not good between Draskovic and Kostunica, although there have been several public denials of this. There was ferment in DEPOS even before the election. Leon Kojen publicly dropped out of the movement's council, and in the conflicts over whether to take part in the election, many figures froze their status in DEPOS. The question is what will happen now because success was not achieved even in local elections. In the ranks of the opposition, it is being said more and more frequently, extremely unofficially, that certain figures are becoming synonyms of political failure and that the time has come to draw the line.

Both Slobodan Milosevic, president of Serbia (with immense constitutional powers), and Dobrica Cosic, FRY president (who possesses just as much authority, but of an altogether different kind), have remained on the stage after the election. Their relations will to a large degree constitute the framework of everyday political life here, and it is not without significance that the strongest party in Serbia will continue to operate as an opposition to the top federal leadership, and that the opposition parties in Serbia are one place where that leadership will seek support.

We have thus already entered upon unstable times, and however uncertain the question of which political party won, it is certain that we can all nevertheless lose equally, if only because of the stresses caused by reports from the political scene or prices in the grocery store.

Looked at in this way, even the voters in Dedevci nevertheless perhaps defeated themselves rather than Vlastimir "Reagan" Vostinic. Reagan is political history and only someone living in history could be settling accounts with him. It is also possible, however, that Vlastimir Vostinic had some other shortcoming and not just a nickname which turned the voters against him.

Serbia

Milosevic Urges World Response to Krajina Attack

LD2301143893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1336 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—Quick action by the international community is necessary to stop the aggression against Krajina, which is at the same time aggression against peace and aggression against all the goals of this conference. This was stated, as we have learned, by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic at today's session of the Geneva conference immediately after Tudjman's address in which the Croatian president tried to justify the military action by the Croatian troops against the Republic of Serb Krajina. Milosevic assessed these explanations by Tudjman as unacceptable.

"I do not believe that any reasonable person could explain or justify military incursion on territory under UN protection. I am asking myself, and you, who can be authorized to enter territory under UN protection. If now, when peace in Bosnia is within our reach, the masters of war wish to open up a new hotbed of crisis, as they did in Bosnia when Vance's plan halted the war in Croatia, then the international community finally must face both their [the masters of war] and its own responsibility. In this regard quick action by the international community is necessary to stop aggression against Krajina which is at the same time aggression against peace and aggression against all goals of this conference. I hold that the international community has never had a clearer opportunity to take a firm and principled stand toward all the protagonists of the Yugoslav crisis, instead of the policy of double standards. It is only in this way that the path toward peace and a political denouement of the crisis will be secured," Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said.

Denounces 'Criminal' Attack

LD2201192793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan. 22 (TANJUG)—President Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia voiced hope on Friday [22 January] that the attack by Croatian forces on the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) would not affect the Geneva talks, but this attack, he said, was a criminal act.

"I hope that the Security Council will condemn and halt the violation of the agreement with the United Nations and the attacks on the areas under its control. This is the minimum I expect from the Security Council," Milosevic told newsmen right after his meeting with Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg.

Milosevic pointed out that Franjo Tudjman had to negotiate with representatives of Krajina.

Milosevic said Norway was a friendly country which has throughout the Yugoslav crisis maintained an impartial and objective position.

Asked whether this visit somehow meant that the blockade was giving in, Milosevic answered in the affirmative and added that in time the world public would realize that the blockade had been imposed relying upon presumptions not upon facts.

Speaking about the talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina to be resumed in Geneva on Saturday, Milosevic said that the "key to peace is in the hands of all three sides and in the protection of interests of all three peoples. I believe that peace is soon ahead of us."

Serbian Party Condemns Attacks

LD2201183393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1719 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—The spokesman of the Serbian Socialist Party (SPS), Ivica Dacic, today told TANJUG that the attack carried out by Croatian forces on the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) was "yet another proof showing who is in favor of a war option, who wants to impose a solution by force, and who, on the other hand, favors peace."

"The latest armed attack carried out by Croatian forces is proof that those who wanted to impose—by force—an unjust solution on the Serbian people in former Yugoslavia wish to continue in the same line, even attacking territories under UN protection," stressed Dacic.

The SPS spokesman also hoped that "the international public would finally understand and condemn this action," recalling the fact that "Serbian people and their legitimate representatives had advocated a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis from the very beginning."

Foreign Minister Reports Mobilization

LD2401203193 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1900 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] The Serbians are warning the Croatians, but do not want to dramatize events, though the Serbians are organizing in the field. Listen to what the Serbian foreign minister [Vladislav Jovanovic] told Gerard Sebag earlier in a live link from Belgrade:

[Begin recording] [Jovanovic] I do not believe that this offensive might provoke a major war, despite the fact that it reflects an aggressive intention from Croatia.

[Sebag] Nevertheless, are you in Belgrade now preparing for war?

[Jovanovic] The Serbian people in Krajina are on alert, a mobilization has been ordered, and it is already complete. This is perfectly normal because the UN forces—the UN Protection Force, as they are called—have proved insufficient to guarantee their physical safety and the integrity of the territory put under UN protection. [end recording]

Seselj Demands Intervention

AU2501113493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 25 Jan 93

["Excerpt" from news conference by Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party, place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Seselj] The development of the aggression and the absence of a more energetic reaction by the international community is evidence enough that the Croats are supported by the Security Council, the great world powers, and both Vance and Owen in achieving their aggressive aims. The reluctance of the state leadership of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia gives us the right to suspect and publicly accuse Dobrica Cosic of conspiring with Franjo Tudjman to wage aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina and to capture the area around the former Maslenica bridge. Understandably enough, Dobrica Cosic now appears astounded as Franjo Tudjman is now trying to achieve even more than they agreed on. This president has betrayed the interests of the Serbian people and should resign immediately.

The Army of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia must react energetically now, today, and stop the Croatian Ustasha aggression and push back the Croatian forces to their initial positions. This is a matter of the survival of the entire Serbian nation. The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is the guarantor of the Vance plan and the security of the Republic of Serbian Krajina. It must use all its armed might today to intervene. If it does not do so, the Serbian Radical Party will demand the accountability of all state officials who, through their reluctance or their open betrayal, caused this situation. The Serbian Radical Party insists that all parliamentary bodies of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia make their stands clear, particularly the Federal Assembly; that the deputies be called for an urgent session, and that the parliamentary bodies of the Republic of Serbia and Republic of Montenegro issue statements to that effect. There is no time for waiting.

Ministry Refuses Visit by European Delegation

LD2201220993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2114 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan. 22 (TANJUG)—The Foreign Ministry of Serbia has not issued permission for a visit by a delegation of the Christian-Democratic faction of European Parliament to the southern Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija (Kosmet), the ministry annouced on Friday [22 January].

The announcement said foreign officials had completely disregarded the official organs of Serbia when scheduling their recent visits to Kosmet and during the visits themselves. They also disregarded Yugoslav diplomatic offices abroad, official competent organs of the Republic of Serbia and the Kosmet legal authorities, the ministry added.

As a rule, the visits had ill-will objectives and did not help ease the situation in the province with strong separatist aspirations of the Albanian population. Most of the visits, not legalized either by the forums sending the fact-finding or good-will missions, did not help resolve the outstanding questions in Kosovo and Metohija, which was pointed out also by some officials of the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia, the announcement said.

The European Parliament delegation called Kosovo and Metohija the "former Yugoslav republic" and the "former Yugoslav region."

Competent organs of Yugoslavia and Serbia, as well as Yugoslav diplomatic missions abroad and European diplomatic missions in Belgrade were not consulted about the schedule of the visit, the ministry set out. The schedule does not include talks with federal, republican and provincial officials, but only with ethnic Albanian representatives, it added.

The visit is aimed at direct support to Albanian separatism and is an attempt to deny the fact that Kosovo and Metohija is an integral part of the F.R. [Federal Republic] Yugoslavia, that is Serbia.

The Serbian Foreign Ministry has therefore decided not to allow the delegation to enter the territory of the F.R. Yugoslavia, that is Serbia, and will inform about this the representatives of the CSCE and the Geneva Conference on Yugoslavia, said the announcement.

Serbian Military Capabilities Assessed

93BA0477C Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 8 Jan 93 p 11

[Article by (rz): "A Multitude in Military Overcoats"]

[Text] *Serbia has approximately a quarter million trained regular soldiers and reservists available; well-trained Russian and Ukrainian mercenary pilots in MiG-21 fighters?*

Ljubljana, 7 Jan—Although in recent days we have witnessed increasingly more feverish attempts for a political solution to the Bosnia-Hercegovina crisis through negotiations, there have also been increasingly more frequent announcements of a military intervention, primarily in order to ensure compliance with the ban on aircraft flights above Bosnia-Hercegovina. Probably such news and statements are also partly a form of pressure against the opposing sides, primarily the Serbs and Serbia, to come to their senses nevertheless; but one should not completely rule out the actual use of force to settle the situation.

Of course, the military headquarters of the Western countries have rehearsed every kind of possibility in preparations for something like that, so that it is now already quite clear to them what they have to do and what actually awaits them. The success of the intervention, however, depends precisely on the reliability of their data on the military strength that they could encounter in this region. Probably the appropriate intelligence services have gathered reliable data; and if we imagine that we are at least somewhat familiar with the situation, then our estimates will not be too far off either.

Serbia probably has about 135,000 men available in its regular army, and approximately 400,000 reservists, of whom approximately a quarter million are also well-trained. They are also reinforced by the intelligence and security services. Altogether they probably have about 70,000 men in them, of whom approximately 50,000 are in the police and 20,000 in the intelligence services. One must also add to this about 100,000 men in the army of the so-called Serbian republic and about 15,000 to 20,000 men in the police units of the so-called Krajinas in Croatia and also about 30,000 reservists.

The Serbian defense industry produces all types of light, medium, and heavy weapons, possibly just somewhat more slowly than in the last two years. In this regard one should not forget that Serbia wants to become the first missile power in the Balkans, as one can conclude from the statements by the so-called Yugoslav military leadership. It is probably also being assisted by Iraqi missile experts. According to some information, several important Iraqi experts are supposed to have already ended up in Serbia two years ago, since the former Yugoslav Army also cooperated closely with Iraq in developing missiles with a range of 50 to 75 km. Serbia also wants to produce missiles with a range of 120 to 300 km.

Belgrade is also trying to acquire as many aircraft as possible. It is especially interested in Russian MiGs, Tupolevs, and helicopters. All of this is available on the open market as a remnant of the armament of the former Soviet army. It is likewise not difficult to hire Russian pilots and military instructors who were left without work when the Russian army withdrew from its former allies. According to some information, experienced pilots who fought in Afghanistan are being recruited in Russia and Ukraine. They are being offered from $3,000 to $5,000 in monthly salaries. It may thus happen to American and West European pilots that they will be opposed precisely by Russian and Ukrainian mercenary pilots, who are now flying Serbian MiG-29 fighter-interceptors.

Montenegro

Bulatovic Condemns Croatian 'Aggression'

LD2301193893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1716 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—Momir Bulatovic, president of the Republic of Montenegro, issued the following statement in Geneva on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation:

"You are aware that, at the plenary session, the FRY president strongly condemned the act of aggression against the territory under UN protection. We presented this as one of the main issues and demanded that the conference adopt a stand on it.

"During our bilateral meeting with the cochairmen of the conference, we insisted on a need to strongly condemn this act of aggression, to put an end to violence, and to resume negotiations. It was the idea of the cochairmen to invite Mr. Tudjman and his aides. We had a fairly frank discussion during which we demanded that the issue of relations between legitimate representatives of the RSK (Republic of Serb Krajina) and Croatia be resolved in the way in which efforts to resolve it were

originally made; namely, providing a diplomatic success and a contribution to the solution of the crisis.

"We pointed out that it was necessary to normalize relations between Croatia and the FRY, but that one of the prerequisites was the full observance of obligations set by the international community. We are particularly concerned that the act of aggression by Croatia took place on the eve of peace talks which were expected to lead to a greater degree of understanding between the legitimate representatives of the Serbian people and the FRY on one side and of the Republic of Croatia on the other."

Kosovo

Rugova Urges Clinton To Prevent Serb 'Aggression'

LD2301142593 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 2200 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] In a letter of greetings to the new President of the United States of America, Bill Clinton, the President of the Republic of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova, appealed for the prevention of Serbian aggression in Kosovo before it assumes larger proportions. The Kosovo Prime Minister Dr. Bujar Bukoshi on his side appealed to the new American Administration to try to put an end to the Serbian oppression in Kosovo and to prevent the expansion of conflict in the Balkans.

Fears About Serb-Albanian Population Ratio

93BA0489B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 93 p 12

[Article by R. Nikolic: "A Dramatic Warning Without Response"]

[Text] In 10 years or so, will age groups over age 65 in Serbia be more numerous than the population under age 15?

However pessimistic it might seem, that forecast is quite feasible if the natural population growth continues at the same pace as in recent decades.

A team of specialists has recently pointed out the dangers which accompany the present slower rate of natural reproduction of the population in central Serbia and then the negative birth rate in Vojvodina, by contrast with the outright demographic explosion in Kosovo and Metohija. That team included Milos Macura, member of the academy (chairman of the Committee for Population Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts), Bogoljub Stojanovic (chairman of the Council for Family and Population of the Main Committee of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia]), Dr. Miroljub Rancic (acting director of the Center for Demographic Research of the Social Sciences Institute), Dr. Milos Banicevic (director of the Institute for Health Care of Mothers and Children), Milovan Zivkovic, M.A. (director of the republic Bureau of Statistics), Dr. Vojin Sulovic (president of the Serbian Physicians Society), Dr. Dragomir Mladenovic (president of the Family Planning Association of Yugoslavia), and Dr. Luka Todorovic (director of the Institute for Social Welfare Policy).

The Demographic Explosion of the Albanians

The warning which that group of specialists has drawn up is actually a documented analysis with all the indicators important to understanding the dramatic consequences of the drop in the birth rate. However, in view of the unavoidable details in our reality, in which on the one hand we are surrounded by war, and on the other hand, in peacetime, subjected to the pressure of an international blockade and drop in the standard of living, Academician Milos Macura remarked in an interview with our newspaper:

"It has not been recorded in the history of nations that childbirth ceased when trouble came. Wartime situations can separate families, which is why fewer children are born during wars, but after that there is always a compensation. During great troubles, it is particularly important for the species to maintain itself biologically and for irreplaceable losses not to occur."

Academician Macura went on to recall that all children born during World War II are now fathers or grandfathers, but at the time their birth represented a sacrifice for their families. Which accounts for the need for society, as an organized entity, which includes the government, the church, and science—must be aware of the consequences that result from an excessively low birth rate.

As for Serbia, the problem of the birth rate is more complicated because it is stratified. Over the last 10 years, the population of the entire republic actually grew by 478,000. That kind of growth in and of itself could not be considered unfavorable if it were not for the extreme imbalance from the standpoint of the regional, social, and ethnic patterns. After all, in central Serbia the population increased by 130,000, in Vojvodina the birth rate had a negative trend, and the population decreased by 22,000, but on the other hand the population in Kosovo and Metohija increased by 370,000.

Alarming Assessments Pertaining to the Middle of the Next Century

The kind of distorted demographic pattern that is involved is evident from the figures from several earlier decades. For example, in 1946 central Serbia had a population of about 4.2 million, Vojvodina—about 1.6 million, and Kosovo and Metohija—about 730,000. Now, after more than four decades, in 1991, central Serbia has 5.8 million, Vojvodina—about two million, and Kosovo and Metohija—1.9 million inhabitants; the southern province, then, has almost tripled its population in less than five decades.

What do the demographic estimates show if this birth rate continues?

On the basis of those trends, the long-term projection of the population is extremely pessimistic for the population of Vojvodina and central Serbia. After all, if the birth rates and death rates established in previous decades continue, then in the middle of the next century, somewhere around the year 2050, central Serbia will have a population of 3.8 million (the population will decrease by one-third from its present number), in Vojvodina there will be 1.2 million inhabitants, while in the southern province the number of Albanians would increase to 3.5 million. It is not difficult to imagine all the economic, social, ethnic, and other imbalances which that kind of demographic earthquake could cause.

That is why we asked Academician Macura whether anyone was reacting to this warning from the specialists, because all important social and government factors have been informed about these figures?

"Several months ago, we sent this warning from the specialists to all government institutions, the church, and all the political parties. Only two parties—the SPS and Democratic Party—have recognized the problems with the birth rate and have incorporated certain segments in that field into their program. And while almost none of the others reacted, the greatest interest was shown by the Serbian Community for Culture and Education. The people who belong to that association reacted sharply to the indolence and insufficient effort to attract the attention of the broad social community. They have demanded that the republic government of Serbia establish a ministry for family and population. If the government does not do that, then they themselves will form it and point out the problem, which is very serious," we were told by Academician Macura.

Because the election has occurred in the meantime, and now a new government will be formed, the new government institutions will have an opportunity to face up to the dramatic warning from the specialists about the drop in the birth rate on the one hand and about the demographic explosion on the other. That is why Academician Macura emphasizes that the authors of this warning will continue to insist that there must be no obstacles to the development of society and childbirth such as an economic crisis, a shortage of money, or some third thing. The government must invest in its future, and that means investing in creation of conditions for young people to marry, have children, and bring them up under the most favorable conditions which the community can offer them.

DSK Leader on Idea of Kosovo Republic

93BA0490B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 93 p 13

[Interview with Fehmi Agani, vice president of the DSK [Democratic Federation of Kosovo] by Radojica Barjaktarevic; date and place not given: "Only a Step to Real War"]

[Text] The idea of a republic of Kosovo has encompassed all Albanian masses and this is a factor that all those who seek or offer some other solutions must take into account. Milosevic's victory in the elections significantly reduces the possibilities of a peaceful option for Kosovo. A state of tension, a situation on the edge of war, it is only a step to a real war. Nevertheless, I think that war and the option of war are not unavoidable. The opinion has prevailed in the Albanian public that all possibilities of a peaceful option have not been exhausted, but whether it will be accepted depends not only on the Albanians—Dr. Fehmi Agani, vice president of the DSK, points out.

[Barjaktarevic] How much is international society helping, and how much is it hindering, Albanians in the creation of a "republic of Kosovo"?

[Agani] The help of international society in relation to the problems of Kosovo and the position of Albanians is significant. With this I will not say that international society has accepted the conception of a Kosovo republic and its independence. On the contrary, international society is officially on the viewpoint of reviving the autonomy of Kosovo, approximately like that based on the 1974 Constitution. However, we think that it is impossible to revive the autonomy of 1974, since a federation does not exist where autonomy has been able to function. That is one point. Secondly, we think that our orientation is known. That is an orientation toward a sovereign and independent Kosovo, as has been confirmed by referendum and as can be confirmed by any referendum, since this is the reflection and the general disposition among Albanians.

What is positive is that the opinion prevails in the international community that the problem of Kosovo and the position of Albanians is not in autonomy. It can possibly be one transitional form under which a war conflict can be avoided, and a solution can be found in the context of the demands of Albanians. However, this is not found in any official statement by an international body or party, but such an opinion, we have the impression, is increasingly penetrating into the world.

[Barjaktarevic] Do organs and bodies of the "republic of Kosovo" exist and, if so, how do they function?

[Agani] The idea of a republic of Kosovo has encompassed all Albanian masses and it exists and is firm in the thoughts, the convictions, the orientation of all Albanians. This is a factor that all who seek or offer some other solutions must take into account. In an institutional form, the republic of Kosovo exists in truncated form, as it is possible to exist under these circumstances. There also exists a parliament which, to be sure, is not formally constituted and which will be constituted, depending on circumstances. There is a legally elected president of the republic (Dr. Ibrahim Rugova) and a government of truncated structure.

[Barjaktarevic] Are you thinking of the government of Bujar Bukosi in exile?

[Agani] The government that Bujar Bukosi heads has the support of all parties here in Kosovo and it cannot be ignored. Moreover, it has the authority of an earlier assembly. Therefore, the structure and functioning are truncated, with regard to the circumstances, but institutionally the republic of Kosovo exists.

[Barjaktarevic] What will the DSK undertake so that war does not start.

[Agani] The victory of Slobodan Milosevic at the elections is significantly reducing the possibilities of a peaceful and peaceloving option for Kosovo. This regime is a regime of constant repression in Kosovo, and the repression itself is one form of undeclared war. Therefore, it carries danger in itself. Secondly, the current regime in Serbia is interested that the situation in Kosovo be strained, on the edge of war. And, this is approximately the policy of the current regime in Kosovo. Judging from everything, the regime will continue to insist on this policy, on this maintaining of tensions and maintaining of a situation on the edge of war, because this is one of its needs, with regard to conditions in Serbia itself and in Kosovo. However, a situation of tension and a situation on the edge of war is only a step to real war. Therefore, great danger exists in this need of the Serbian government to maintain such a situation. If there is danger of greater clashes and conflict in Serbia, naturally Milosevic is interested in transferring the clashes to Kosovo where possible. And the danger of war lies in this. Nevertheless, I think that war and the war option are not unavoidable, since there are many factors why war will not occur. I also think that Serbia is tired and the public in Serbia is difficult to mobilize for opening new fronts, and through international pressure, to the danger that possible conflicts spread to Kosovo. This perhaps makes the war option not seem unavoidable. The DSK, even under these difficult and tense circumstances, will insist and continue with peaceful options. Whether and how much it will succeed in this, depends not only on the DSK and the political leaders of Albanians.

[Barjaktarevic] It is heard that it really suits Albanians at this moment that Slobodan Milosevic won.

[Agani] I would not say that it suits Albanians that Milosevic won and that this policy suits them. Looking at it realistically, that Panic and the opposition also won, the situation would calm down in some sectors. There would be certain concessions. However, in relation to basic demands, the viewpoint of the opposition has not been promising in regard to Albanians. Therefore, the victory of Milosevic is making relations more tense, is threatening to and can lead, perhaps, to faster unraveling.

[Barjaktarevic] Would the opposition and Panic at least do something in Kosovo?

[Agani] Yes, in relation to a number of problems, primarily the problem of education, information, employment, at least partially, those who are excluded from working. Here there would be certain positive moves and, naturally, this would improve the climate and could have a positive influence on the solution of other problems as well. However, the viewpoint of the opposition in relation to the substantive problems of Kosovo, and they are seeking more radical demands, has not been promising.

[Barjaktarevic] What exactly is in the reports of the creation of an Albanian coalition regarding the DSK if a radical turnabout in the carrying out of policy does not occur?

[Agani] People have spoken about the possibility of uniting the relatively small political parties of Albanians into one coalition, but which would not be aimed against the DSK but would be differentiated from the DSK. I think that it would not be a question of some different option in general, since all political parties of Albanians have more or less a basic orientation similar or identical to the orientation of the DSK. It has been a question of a need, certain parties probably feel, for a new balance to be opened in the political sphere among Albanians through unification. I think that such things have not moved ahead. The possibility of such a unification is not excluded. However, what would essentially be gained by this is not apparent.

[Barjaktarevic] Who "braked" the dialogue begun with the Serbian educators and why?

[Agani] Of all the talks on Kosovo, the only thing of any certain hope has been that there would be success in the talks about education. The talks have been stopped, and the blockade basically stems from the stand that Serbia has taken regarding education. Serbia's stand is that the complete authority of Serbia over Albanian education must be accepted; this is rather unacceptable for us. And, here things broke down. One hindrance was the elections, because everyone more or less waited for the elections to know who's in charge.

[Barjaktarevic] Can the Albanians do something to break the icejam loose?

[Agani] The possibilities for a continuation of the dialogue are small, at least as far as the Federal Government is concerned, perhaps some government that Milosevic would create. Even earlier when there was good will in the Federal Government, the possibilities were not great, but on the question of schools the possibility was very narrow. Because, no one can accept, either today or in the future, that authority over schooling in the Albanian language be delegated to Serbia.

[Barjaktarevic] A story is heard in public, and that was, we learn, a "dispute" between a group delegation from the Kosmet and Dobrica Cosic about some kind of division of Kosovo and Metohija.

[Agani] We have heard and a division of Kosovo is mentioned. I know that such an idea exists, but that is

absolutely unacceptable for us. Kosovo is, in the geographical and in the economic and in the social, and in whatever context you like, one whole and no solution can be gained through dividing it.

[Barjaktarevic] What do you expect in 1993, or what are the realistic prospects in your opinion that independence will be achieved?

[Agani] The first part of the coming year will be, I suppose, a time of increased repression by Serbia in Kosovo and around Kosovo. This is completely normal to expect because some statements are announcing this. It is not realistic to expect some talks, even if there are declarative preparations on the part of Serbia. However, I expect as possible a worsening of relations about Serbia and Yugoslavia in general, in the domestic and foreign plan. Serbia will sometime have to approach an agreeable solution of the problems tied to Kosovo. Simply, it will be forced to. It is difficult to imagine that international society, which is quite normally interested in an improvement in the situation and in a cessation of the war in Bosnia, can accept what Serbia envisions as the future status of Kosovo.

[Barjaktarevic] Why do Albanians think that they supposedly "have no life in Serbia and Yugoslavia"?

[Agani] As a national group Albanians are very handicapped. They have been basically deprived of their rights. The first form of being deprived of their rights is the attempt to treat them as a national minority, or the attempt to impose a national-minority status, whereby such an approach also means for us a restrictive approach in relation to the rights of a specific collectivity. The substance of the disagreement and conflict over the Albanian question is even precisely in the aspiration that the Albanians be treated as a national minority and act that way when they are not. A still more difficult thing for the Albanians is change in ethnic structure and exile from these areas, but unfortunately this is an option of the ruling structure in relation to Kosovo and Albanians. A basic solution is being sought in such a change in ethnic structure; this means, in relation to Kosovo and Albanians, persecution of Albanians. They cannot accept this, they cannot and will not come to terms with this. The basic demand of Albanians is that Kosovo constitutionally have a status according to which they alone would decide about themselves. This is in our opinion completely acceptable and democratic.

As to whether things can be resolved within the framework of Serbia and Yugoslavia, the fact is that Serbia has shown itself up to now to be unprepared for resolving the problem. Albanians are completely squeezed out of public life, they are driven out of their jobs, cultural and educational institutes are closed to them, a system of forced and violent rule has been imposed on them. There are constant attempts to impose on them a national-minority status, very restrictively conceived, in Yugoslavia and Serbia, and demands are made on them to behave like a national minority. But they have not been behaving this way, nor can they because they are not a national minority. Thus, this is the substance of the disagreement and conflict with Albanians.

Milosevic's regime has gone a step further. He is seeking a solution in a genocidal policy of change in the ethnic structure of Kosovo, in the persecution of Albanians. Milosevic, president of the state of citizens of Serbia, who is still stating that one has heard about cleansing in Kosovo for the first time, pretending that no one knows anything about the not very meager ideology and practice of greater Serbian chauvinism, is the initiator of the Kosovo Program, which as one of its basic aims specifies changes in the ethnic structure of Kosovo. How, then, can Albanians see a solution within the framework of Serbia and Yugoslavia?

Data on Weapons Smuggling in Kosovo

93BA0493B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26-27 Dec 92 p 8

[Article by M. Antic: "Weapons Are Coming From All Sides"]

[Text] Pristina—The area of Kosovo and Metohija is currently one of the most interesting ones for smuggling and dealing in weapons. During this year alone, security bodies and services have discovered and seized 3,441 different weapons, and that is exclusively from members of the Albanian nationality.

In just the latest operation, one of the biggest to date, carried out in mid-December 1992, forces from the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs cut off such an arms smuggling chain, in which more than 100 automatic weapons, two heavy machine guns, thousands of kilograms of ammunition of various calibers and origins, and also a large number of bombs and several kilograms of destructive explosive. That smuggling channel operated along the Austria-Slovenia-Croatia-Sandzak-Kosmet [Kosovo and Metohija] route. Furthermore, as we have learned, it did so with the assistance of a number of individuals of Serbian nationality, who participated in transporting it.

A smuggling channel was simultaneously cut off in Prizren, Suva Reka, Kosovska Mitrovica, Gnjilan, Pristina, Glogovac, and Vucitrn. So far 70 people have been arrested in this operation. It is known that so far criminal charges have been filed against 38 of them, and that five smugglers have fled.

It was discovered in this operation that a large amount of different weapons is coming from or by means of Islamic countries. The course of the investigation to date has shown that Turkish journalist Ahmet Hot alone brought 50,000 German marks to Prizren and gave them to the Islamic Community's secretary in that city, Nedzat Ibrahim, who used that money to purchase weapons, and distributed about 10 Kalashnikovs to members of his religious community, and buried a considerable number in a nearby forest, where they were discovered. Twenty

automatic rifles and five pistols, with a large amount of ammunition, were found in his possession alone.

Two Prizren Muslim priests, Mihidin Ahmeti and Feti Isaku, also had large amounts of ammunition.

According to what BORBA has learned, for now the investigation shows that the main purchaser of weapons along the "Islamic channel" was the above-mentioned Nedzmedin Ibrahimi, who was contacted by individuals from the embassies of several Islamic countries, usually people from the Iranian Embassy in Belgrade.

The third channel from which large amounts of weapons and ammunition are reaching Kosmet is Albania. Since a large surplus of various weaponry has appeared on the Albanian market, because of the extensive arming of the Albanian army with modern weapons, it is almost freely arriving in this area across the Albanian-Macedonian border, and from there to Kosmet. The evidence that that channel is functioning as well is the fact that in just the latest operation by the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs, a large number of automatic rifles and ammunition of Chinese manufacture were discovered.

The December operation by Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs forces revealed that Serbs were also playing a significant role in providing weapons for Albanian separatists. Specifically, it was discovered that a group of five members of the Serbian nationality, one of whom was in military service, stole a large number of automatic rifles, Scorpion and M-57 pistols, a large number of bombs, and a great deal of ammunition from the former TO [Territorial Defense] storage depot in Gracanica. They sold all of those weapons and ammunition to Albanians. Which individuals are involved will be officially announced after the investigation is completed.

It is also interesting that the latest operation by the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs also showed which channels were used to provide money for purchasing the weapons. Along with those already mentioned, it must be said that a drug smuggling channel was also cut off by this operation. It went from east to west through Kosovo. In this operation alone, two kilograms of the purest heroin were seized. Those in whose possession they were found do not conceal what the funds from their sale are used for. In any case, some of the drugs also remain in this market. They are sold here at prices lower than anywhere else in the world, to young people mostly of Serbian nationality.

After all, it is no secret that the illegal government of the "Republic of Kosovo," which has recently been staying in Germany, has as one of its primary tasks collecting funds from Albanian guest workers to buy weapons for the needs of Kosmet separatists. Some Kosmet sources say that several million German marks have already been collected and spent for this purpose, but that the weapons bought with this money have not yet reached Kosmet.